UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

# LATIN DIMINUTIVES IN -ELLO/A- AND -ILLO/A-

GEORGE KLEPPINGER STRODACH

A THESIS

IN LATIN

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA

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G. K. S.

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cod., codd. = codex, codices
coni. = coniecit
conj. = conjecture
denom. = denominative
dimin. = diminutive
edd. = editions
Fal. = Faliscan
gl. = gloss
Goth. = Gothic
inscr. = inscription
Lith. = Lithuanian
MHG = Middle High German
NHG = New High German
OE = Old English
OFr. = Old French
OHG = Old High German
OLat. = Old Latin
PGr. = Primitive Greek
PIE = Primitive Indo-European
PIt. = Primitive Italic
PPP = perfect passive participle
Sab. = Sabine
Skr. = Sanskrit
trad. = tradition
var. = variant

# I. INTRODUCTION

§ 1. This study proposes to examine the phonetic origin of the Latin diminutive suffixes in *-ellus -a -um* and *-illus -a -um* [1], and to trace the lines of their analogical extension as independent formative elements, a phenomenon which is later than the origin of *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* through phonetic processes. Since scholars have expressed several opinions on the phonetic origin of these suffixes, it is perhaps justifiable to examine the validity of the view most commonly held, by adducing all the extant pertinent materials, inasmuch as no such detailed presentation has yet, to my knowledge, been made. Moreover, little or no consideration has been given to the problem of the extension of the suffixes *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* from words or groups of words where their development was phonetic, and of the possible points of departure of this extension.

§ 2. Inasmuch as the formation of the suffixes *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* [2] took place in the pre-literary period of the language, it has seemed necessary to examine first those examples from the literature which presumably would, and in fact do, constitute the earliest and clearest evidence bearing on the problems of origin and extension. Accordingly, the words in *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* of Republican date [3] are examined first, as being the earliest attested continuators of the previously established phonetic types. Leading topics of this section are the following: (1) the phonetic product of stems in *-ro/ā-* plus the diminutive suffix *-elo/ā-*; (2) the phonetic development of *-ello/ā-* in the type *catellus* from **katel(e)los*, to the non-diminutive (?) *catulus*

1. The notations *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* will hereafter be used, for the sake of convenience, to indicate the suffixes *-ellus -a -um* and *-illus -a -um*.

2. Whether the suffix proper is in a given case *-ello- -illo-* or *-cello- -cillo-* is irrelevant to this study, since the sound *c* which often commences the diminutive suffixes (and is limited almost exclusively, at least during the Republican period, to words of the third, fourth, and fifth declensions) does not affect their vocalism. The diminutive suffix *-culo/ā-*, upon which are built *-cello/ā-* and, by analogy, *-cillo/ā-*, is derived from *-k-elo/ā-*, this in turn from *-qo-*, a diminutive formans obsolete in Italic (cf. *homun-c-iō*), plus the secondary or diminutive *-elo/ā-*; see Leumann 172.IV.A.3.

3. For the purposes of this study, I have considered the authors from Livius Andronicus to and including Vitruvius, Vergil, Horace, and Ovid as Republican.

< **katelos*, and the possibly analogical origin of the 'double'[4] diminutive suffix in the type *porcellus*, to *porculus porcus*; and (3) the phonetic product of stems in *-no-* and *-lo/ā-* plus the diminutive suffix *-elo/ā-*, and the extension of the 'single' suffix of this origin to its analogical use as a 'double' suffix, as in the type *mamilla* (to *mammula mamma*). A separate section is assigned to the diminutives in *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* of Imperial date[5]; here it will be important to notice (1) the productivity of the types which had been established phonetically and analogically during the earlier period of the language; and (2) the decline of *-illo/ā-*, the frequency of formations in *-ello/ā-* (increasing during and after the third Christian century), and the predominance of the latter as the 'double' diminutive suffix. To these sections is added an excursus on the verbs in *-ellō* and *-illō*, none of which perhaps can be reckoned as phonetic in origin, with the possible exception of the isolated verb *vacillō*.

§ **3**. Even in a morphological study the matter of word-meaning[6] dare never be lost from view. A considerable number of diminutives show suffixes which have been mediated through semantic association. Word-meaning must be considered in determining whether a given primitive in *-ulo/ā-* owes its suffix to adjectival *-(e)lo/ā-*, or primary (verbal) *-(e)lo/ā-*, or to secondary (diminutive) *-elo/ā-*[7]; for words

4. The suffix *-ello/ā-*, as seen in *porcellus* (to *porcus porculus*, from **porc-elo-s*) is conveniently termed 'double', as distinct from the 'single' suffix of *fābella* (to *fābula*).

5. In collecting both the Republican and the Imperial examples which have been preserved by manuscript tradition and on epigraphical remains, I have utilized the materials gathered by Otto Gradenwitz in Laterculi Vocum Latinarum and the lists of C. Paucker, KZ 23.169-78.

6. The lack of diminutive meaning in Latin nouns of diminutive formation is a subject treated by J. Friedrich, Deminutivbildungen mit nicht deminutiver Bedeutung, 43-75; see also F. Conrad, Die Deminutiva im Altlatein, Glotta 19.127-148 (1931) and 20.74-84. Conrad considered (134) 'bei welchen Worten der Dichter (Plautus) durch die suffixale Form zweifellos ausdrücklich den Begriff der Kleinheit hervorheben wollte. Nach sorgfältiger Prüfung bin ich zu dem Ergebnis gelangt, dass dieser Fall bei keinem der plautinischen Deminutiva zutrifft.' He concluded (144): 'Das Deminutivsuffix ist das Zeichen eines Affekts, mag dieser auch noch so geringfügig sein.'

7. See Brugmann, Gdr.² 2.1.365-7, and Leumann 172.IV.A and B; words ending in *-ulo/ā-* which have anaptyctic *u* before *l* also form diminutives in *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-*, as e. g. *tabula* (*tabella*) and *crepitāculum* (*crepitācillum*). Adjectival *-elo-* is seen perhaps in *vitulus* (*vitellus*), and in the formations *pūllus* 'pure' < **pūr-elos* and *suīllus* < **suīn-elos*; primary *-elo-* is seen in *oculus* (*ocellus*) and *tegulum* (*tegillum*).

of the first two classes also, because of their similarity to true diminutive formations in *-ulo/ā-*, acquired diminutives in *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/-ā*. On the basis of their meaning a few words (e. g. *cavilla*, *favilla*, and *suīllus*) have been indicated as non-diminutive formations.

§ **4**. The evidence of other Italic dialects is only occasionally of use in this connection, first because of its paucity and rather negative character, and secondly because some of the words in *-ello/ā-* (and the few in *-illo-*) in Oscan and Umbrian rest upon uncertain etymologies. There are no certain examples of the ' double ' suffix *-ello/ā-* in the non-Latin dialects.

## II. HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PROBLEM

§ 5. The ancient grammarian Priscian, who wrote about 500 A.D., was necessarily unable to approach from an historical standpoint the problem which will concern us. He provided, however, a rather complete formulation of the external conditions under which the suffixes *-ello-* and *-illo-* appeared. From the following extract [1] it will be seen that Priscian could nowhere account for the suffixal vocalism, except in words of the type '*catēna catēlla*' and '*vīnum vīllum*', where the long vowel of the primitive is maintained in the diminutive. That he was not aware of the concept of linguistic change through assimilation is evident from his failure to account for the disappearance of *r* in *-ro-* stems and of *n* in *-no-* stems, where such stems formed diminutives with *ll* [2] :

§ 6. In *-nus*, sive habeant ante *n* aliam consonantem sive non, et in *-lus* si non habeant geminatam *l*, et in *-er* secundae declinationis, nomina duplicant *l* ante *-us* [in diminutivis] : 'asinus asellus', 'geminus gemellus', 'bonus bellus', 'pugnus pugillus', 'agnus agnellus' — quod ideo servavit *n*, ut sit differentia inter agri diminutivum, quod est 'agellus' —, 'anulus anellus', 'oculus ocellus', 'populus popellus', 'catulus catellus', 'tener tenellus', 'liber libellus'. Et sciendum quod omnia habent *e* paenultimam absque 'pugillo', nisi primitiva paenultimam habent natura productam in omni genere. Tunc enim servant primitivi vocalem, ut 'ūnus ūna ūnum, ūllus ūlla ūllum', 'vīnum vīllum'. Excipitur unum in *-lus* desinens, 'paulus', quod non geminavit *l* in diminutione, nec mirum, cum *au* diphthongus post se geminari consonantem prohiberet : facit igitur 'paulus', 'paululus', ex hoc 'pauxillus', 'pauxillulus', quas formas servant et femininum et neutrum eius. Similiter 'velum' 'vexillum' facit diminutivum. Et puto ideo haec assumpsisse *x*, quia haec in *-lus*

1. GL 2.109-12.

2. Consistently with this, Priscian cited in this connection the forms *columnella* and *scamnellum* = classical *columella* and *scamellum* ; since the latter two words owe their *-ll-* to the assimilation of *-nl-*, the operation of this principle could not have been known in Priscian's time, when the new formations *columnella* and *scamnellum* were made.

vel *-la* vel *-lum* desinentium primitivorum facientium diminutiva paenultimam natura longam habent, 'paūlum pauxillum', 'vēlum vexillum'. Ideo 'māla' quoque [assumpsit *x* et] 'maxilla' facit et 'tālus' 'taxillus'... Quae vero geminant *l* ante *-us* vel *-a* vel *-um*, in *-ulus -ula -ulum* faciunt iterum diminutiva, ut 'homullus homullulus', 'pauxillulus'.

Feminina quoque in *-na* desinentia, sive habeant ante *n* aliam consonantem sive non, geminant in diminutivis *l* ante *-a*, ut 'catena catella', 'asina asella', 'gemina gemella', 'columna columnella'. Excipitur 'rana ranunculus', 'luna lunula'. Eandem formam in *-la* quoque desinentia vel *-ra* servant, ut 'fabula fabella', 'tabula tabella', 'libra libella', 'capra capella', 'umbra umbella', 'sacer sacra sacrum, sacellus sacella sacellum'. Excipiuntur in *-ra* desinentia, quae nec e masculinis in *r* desinentibus fiunt, nec habent ante *r* aliam in eadem syllaba consonantem, ut 'ara arula', 'terra terrula', 'litera literula'.

Neutra quoque in *-num* desinentia geminant in diminutione *l* ante *-um*, et, si *g* habent ante *n* in paenultima syllaba, *i* non *e* accipiuntut 'tignum tigillum'. Alia vero habent *e* in paenultima, nisi sit, quod superius docuimus, paenultima primitivi naturaliter longa, ut 'bonum bellum', 'geminum gemellum', 'scamnum scamnellum'.

Similiter in *-illum* vel in *-ellum* faciunt diminutiva in *-lum* vel *-rum* desinentia: 'tantulum tantillum', 'cerebrum cerebellum', 'flabrum flabellum', 'flagrum flagellum', 'castrum castellum', 'sacrum sacellum'. Et scire debemus quod in *-ellus -ella -ellum* et in *-illus -illa -illum* desinentia diminutiva, si a disyllabis derivantur, assumunt unam syllabam, ut 'agnus agnellus', 'signum sigillum'... A trisyllabis quoque venientia diminutiva quae geminant *l*, pares habent syllabas suis primitivis: 'oculus ocellus', 'fabula fabella'.

§ 7. With the growth of linguistic science since the middle of the nineteenth century, it became possible to pass from formulation and classification of the examples to at least a tentative explanation of them. The first modern investigator who examined the suffixes in *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* in detail was apparently L. Schwabe in 1859.[3] He would explain *agellus* as a case of 'adsimilatio sola', i. e., the vowelless stem *agr-* plus diminutive *-lus* became the unpronounceable forms **agllus*, which by generation of the 'congenial'[4] vowel *e*

3. De deminutivis graecis et latinis liber, 39-43 and 96-103.
4. 'Congenial' renders the 'maxime congruens', 'gratior', or 'genehm' of the earlier investigators.

became *agellus*. Similarly, **signlum* > **sigllum* > *sigillum*. *Arcella*, thought Schwabe, was a case of 'adsimilatio cum contractione coniuncta': **arcul-ulā* > **arcullā* > *arcella*, 'posteriore *u* extrusa prior vi sequentis *l* geminatae in *e* mutata est'; likewise, *bacillum* from **bacul-ulum*. Schwabe thought it strange that the diminutive of *baculum* should not have remained **bacullum*, and helped himself out of this difficulty by the observation that the language preferred *o* and *u* before *l*, but *e* or *i* before *ll*. Schwabe definitely related *āla* and *axilla* as primitive and diminutive respectively[5] and derived *āla* from **ahalā* < **agulā*, and *axilla* from **ag-s-ul(u)lā*, with an 'epenthetic'[6] *s*.

§ **8**. Six years later, a second investigator, H. G. Müller[7], formulated a more comprehensive theory of derivation: 'Mutatio fit praecedentibus *l*, *r*, *n*, *d*, *c* consonis. Ac primum sequens *u* excutitur,... deinde stirpis consona finalis *r*, *n*, *d*, *c* assimilatur *l* jam sequenti, quare in omnibus iis formis exsistit *ll*, postremo in quibusdam formis vocalis, quae duplici *l* antecedit, extenuatur, et quidem mutari potest *u* vel in *e* vel in *i*... Vocabula quae in *ulus* exeunt tum, quum deminutiva terminatione sunt augenda, pro forma *ul-ŭlus* *u* altero eliso, priore autem commutato vel in *e* vel in *i* ostendunt formam vel *ellus* vel *illus*'. Müller, however, did not posit an earlier form of the diminutive ending *-ulo-*, in order to account for the suffixal vocalism of *-ello-* and *-illo-*, although Corssen[8] had taken a step in this direction and had concluded from *fīliolus* and other like words that the original suffix was *-olo-*. In the derivation of *āla* and *axilla* Müller followed Corssen[9], who took the primitive from **ac(s)ulā*, and the diminutive from **ac(s)ula-lā*; and similarly *vēlum* from **vec(s)ulum*, *vexillum* from **vec(s)ulu-lum*. Corssen had concluded from OHG *ahsala* (= NHG *Achsel*) that the *s* of the group *-cs-* (=*x*) was not epenthetic, and in the second edition of his great work continued to derive *āla* from **ax-lā* < **ax-u-lā* and *axilla* from **ax-u-la-lā*, the *u* before *-l(a)l-* becoming *i* as in the change from **bacullum* to *bacillum*.

5. Cicero, Orator 45.153, had thought *āla* a contraction of *axilla*!

6. Schwabe (101) thought the term justified because of the appearance of a sibilant in OHG *ahsa*, *ahsala*, Gr. ἄξων, Lat. *axis*.

7. De linguae latinae deminutivis, 3-9.

8. P. W. Corssen, Ueber Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache $1^1$.250 (1858).

9. Corssen, op. cit., $2^1$.12 (1859); $1^2$.641 (1868). Cf. also Corssen, Kritische Beiträge zur lateinischen Formenlehre (1863), 207 and 424.

§ **9.** Hermann Osthoff[10], writing in 1875, thought that it would be natural to expect the diminutive of *pōculum* to be **pōcullum*, if the *u* before *l* had original etymological standing in the primitive; the true diminutive *pōcillum* he would derive in this fashion: **pō-clulu-m* (primitive being **pō-clu-m*) > **pō-cil(u)lu-m* > *pōcil'lum*. He concluded[11]: 'Nur wo *-ll-* und *-l-* sich die ihnen vorhergehenden Vocallaute selbst frei wählen durften, das ist aber eben bei der Entfaltung ihres Stimmtons zu einem Vocale, nur da war es dem *-ll-* möglich sich für *e* und *i*, dem *-l-* sich für *o* und *u* zu entscheiden.' The vocalism of *-illo-*, e. g. in *pōcillum*, he would explain as due to preceding palatal *c*, but he recognized *porcellus* and many other 'exceptions'. Osthoff perhaps resorted to this unsatisfactory explanation because he had noticed the variant suffixal vocalism of *pōcillum* and *fābella*[12], the primitives of both of which words have anaptyctic vowels. The diminutives of the type *porcellus*, from an antecedent *porculus* where the *u* before *l* has original etymological value, Osthoff did not directly treat; we may perhaps presume that he would have proposed to etymologize: **porc-ululu-s* > **porc-el(u)lus* > *porcel'lus*. He rightly noticed that the product of *-ro-* stems plus diminutive *-lo-* is *-ello-*, but explained the phenomenon with inadequate phonetic notation; thus he derived *lucellum* from **lu-cerlu-m* < **lu-cr'lu-m*, and accounted for *e* of the ending *-ellum* by the theory that *e*, a sound 'congenial' to *r*, developed before the group *-rl-* became *-ll-*.

§ **10.** The views of C. Paucker[13], who wrote in 1877, represent no advance over those of Osthoff, in fact are less satisfactory in some respects. One notices a preoccupation with the historical form of non-diminutive primitives as an adequate basis for explaining diminutives formed upon them. Similarly, Paucker took the diminutive suffix *-ulus* with its historical vocalism, dropped *-s*, added *-lus*, and manipulated the combination unscientifically, in order to produce the 'double' suffix *-ellus*. No attempt was made to arrive at the historical form by positing a prehistoric form from which the former might have developed phonetically. Paucker's own formulation

10. H. Osthoff, Forschungen im Gebiete der indogermanischen nominalen Stammbildung, 1.17-8.

11. 18.

12. This word Osthoff etymologized, after Ascoli, Le figure italiche 25: **fā-blulā* (primitive **fāblā*) > **fā-bel(u)lā* > *fā-bel'la*.

13. Die Deminutive mit doppeltem l, KZ 23.169-88 (1877).

reads[14] : 'Für das dem *l* des Stammauslauts hier meist vorausgehende *u* tritt regelmässig *e*, oft auch *i* ein, und so wird *-ellus -a -um* oder *-illus -a -um* Endung sowohl der Deminutive verbaler und anderer Nomina auf *-ulus* (*-culus -a -um*, *-bula -bulum*), wie *angellus*, *pōcillum*, *fābella* aus *angul(u)lus*, *pōcul(u)lum*, *fābul(u)la*, als auch der zahlreichen Deminutive zweiten Grades aus einfachen Deminutiven auf *-ulus -a -um*, wie *locellus*, *haedillus* aus *loculus*, *haedulus*, während hier nur *caepulla* (aus *caepula*) und vielleicht *caesullae*[15] ausnahmsweise das *u* festgehalten haben.' Equally mechanical is Paucker's formulation for the diminutives whose primitives end in *-inus -ina* (type *asellus asinus* ; Paucker rightly included in this class *bellus*, but derived it from **bollus* < **bonlus* < **bon(u)lus*). The method at its worst is evident from his treatment of the diminutives *axilla*, *maxilla*, *paxillus*, *taxillus*, which are now recognized to be the product of stems in *-slo/ā-* plus diminutive *-elo/ā-*[16] : assuming with Schwabe[17] that the primitives *āla*, *māla*, *pālus*, *tālus* have lost a guttural before *l* of the ending, Paucker proposed[18] to derive *paxillus* thus : **paglus* plus diminutive *-lus* becomes **paglulus*, this with syncope of medial *-u-* and subsequent appearance of *i* before *ll* and the spontaneous generation of an 'epenthetic' *s*, a sound 'congenial' to *i*, becomes **pag-s-i-l(u)lus* (*paxillus*). In spite of these shortcomings, which were perhaps inevitable, Paucker did a service in assembling a large number of the extant diminutives in *-ello-* and *-illo-*. He arranged his findings under three headings : (1) diminutives in *-ll-* derived from antecedent diminutives in *-ulo/ā-* : type *agnellus* ; (2) diminutives of non-diminutive primitives : types *axilla* to *āla*, *crepitācillum* to *crepitāculum*, *tegillum* to *tegulum* ; (3) diminutives in which *-ll-* is the product of the assimilation of (a) *-r* plus *-l-*, (b) *-n* plus *-l-*, (c) *-c*, *-d*, or *-t* plus *-l-*.

§ **11**. While these classifications will still be found of some use, many of Paucker's examples must be rearranged in view of the advance of etymological investigation since his day. Especially should it

14. 170.

15. The first of these words is a Late Latin by-form of *cēpula* with gemination of *l*, the second perhaps an etymologizing of *Caesulla*, feminine of *Caesō* ; see Hofmann s. vv. *cēpe* and *caesius*.

16. See Leumann 144 e. α ; Paucker overlooked the now accepted view of Osthoff, Forschungen im Gebiete der indogermanischen nominalen Stammbildung, 1.190 sqq.

17. De deminutivis graecis et latinis liber, 96.

18. 171.

be noted that Paucker was able to give no answer to the question of the vocalism of these diminutive suffixes; for him it was not a matter of seeking the origin of *-e-* or *-i-* in a phonetic process of preliterary times, but of assuming the historical form as standard and then observing statistically the frequency of these sounds after a given consonant. Thus, as a comment on the examples falling under classes 1 and 2, he noted that the sound *e* follows *c* twice as often as does the sound *i*, that *e* is more frequent after *t*, that *i* is preponderant only after *s* (in the combination *-gs-*).

§ **12**. As a preliminary to a study of the gender of diminutives [19], A. Weinhold sketched the origin of the endings with *-ll-*. As it now appears, his methods represent a transition from the unscientific methods of Paucker to the newer feeling for the historical development of sounds. Thus, while he still derived [20] *agnellus* from **agne-lu-lus* < **agnu-lu-lus* and *fābella* from **fā-bel(u)lā* < **fā-blulā*, Weinhold posited [21] an at least partially prehistoric form **asenus* (with *-e-* and not the *-i-* of the historic *asinus*), in order to account for the *-e-* of the diminutive *asellus*. He also was aware of the concept of the syllabic liquid and nasal (today graphically represented by *r̥ l̥ n̥* [22]) and made use of it to explain the organic development of a vowel under conditions of samprasāraṇa; cf., e. g., his statement [23], which explains the *e*-vocalism of diminutives of stems in *-pro- -bro- -brā- -cro- -gro- -tro- -trā-*: after syncope of the stem-vowel in the groups *-pr(o)-lus*, *-br(o)-lus*, etc., '(es) entwickelte sich infolge des *r* bei der Deminutivbildung sein vokalisierter Stimmlaut *e*.' On the other hand, the rôle of analogy is perhaps not yet well realized; for example, the *-i-* of *trānstillum* (to *trānstrum*) is unscientifically [24] attributed to 'Entfaltung des Stimmtons des *ll* zu dem ihm jedesmal genehmen Vokal.'

19. Genuswechsel der Deminutive, ALL 4.169-88 (1887).

20. 174.

21. 172.

22. See Brugmann, Gdr. $1^1$.201 and 237 (1886) for these notations, and $1^1$.192 note for a bibliography of the earlier articles on this subject.

23. 172.

24. In the first place, the vowel (regularly *e* for diminutives of *-ro-* stems) developed before the assimilation of *-rl-* to *-ll-*, and remained the same after assimilation took place; and secondly, although *e* or *i* is the preponderant vowel before *-ll-*, the theory of the 'congenial vowel' is inadequate to explain the phenomenon, if only because of the existence of such words as *homullus* and *satullus*. In the present instance, the

§ 13. From approximately this time on, however, analogy became a factor in interpreting the suffixes *-ello-* and *-illo-*, as it became clear that they had been established in a pre-literary period and had already been extended beyond their original phonetic provinces before the language entered its historical period. Thus, Brugmann in 1889, in the first edition of the Grundriss[25], saw the origin of the 'double' diminutive suffix *-ello-* in the analogical transfer of *-ello-* from diminutives of *-ro-* stems, where the product was phonetic. The process is clearly expressed by the following proportion : **catello-* : original **cat-lo-* = **ager-lo-*, **agello-* : **agro-*. In criticism, it should be noted that Brugmann's proportion is based on the assumption that the original diminutive suffix was *-lo-*, not *-olo-* or *-elo-*.[26] Similarly, an extra-phonetic process, vowel-assimilation, was assumed by Fr. Stolz[27] in 1890, in order to explain the ending *-illum* of *sigillum* and *tigillum* (to *signum* and *tignum*). He considered the product of syllabic *n̥* plus *-lo-* to have been *-enlo-* > *-ello-*, and believed that the original phonetic products **sigellum* and **tigellum* subsequently became *sigillum* and *tigillum* through the influence of the sound *i* in their initial syllables. Stolz said nothing more on the suffix *-illo-*, and left one free to believe that he (at least in 1890) considered this suffix purely analogical in its origin. With Brugmann, Stolz assumed the original diminutive suffix to have been *-lo-*, and derived *agellus* thus : **ágro-lo-*, this becoming under the primitive Italic accent of stress on the initial syllable **ágr̥-lo-*, and this, with organic development of *-er-*[28] from syllabic *r̥*, **ager-lo-*, *agellus*. For the explanation of 'double' diminutive *-ello-* in *catellus*, however, Stolz did not accept Brugmann's analogical proportion, but saw the suffix arising from *-l̥lo-*[29] : **cát-lo-lo-s* becoming **cát-l̥lo-s* by syncope of medial *-o-*, and this form in turn, with organic development of *-el-* from syllabic *l̥*, becoming **cat-ello-s*, *catellus*. In the Historische Grammatik[30] of 1894, Stolz sought to substantiate

difference of the ending of *trānstillum* from that of all other diminutives from *-ro-* stems would justify one in thinking of an extra-phonetic process ; see Sommer$^{2}$ 82.

25. Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, 2$^{1}$.1.193 (1889).

26. Brugmann recognized the original suffix as *-elo-*, Gdr.$^{2}$ 2.1.366-7 (1906).

27. Griechische und Lateinische Sprachwissenschaft, ed. 2 (1890), 2.271 and 285.

28. Stolz recognized (285) that the *r̥* from which Latin *er* developed is PIt. sonant or syllabic *r̥*, and not the *r̥* of PIE.

29. Stolz left it doubtful (310) how he would have explained the ending of *axilla*, where the phonetic group *l̥l* is involved.

30. Historische Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache, 1.135 and 205.

this derivation of *catellus* by deriving *ocellus*[31] from *ocl(i)los and *tabella* from *tabl(i)lā (intermediate stages *ocl̥los and *tabl̥lā not indicated). He no longer attributed the suffixal *i* of *sigillum* and *tigillum* to vowel-assimilation, but thought that an original *ĕ* became *ĭ* before the group *-nl-* (as, incorrectly, in *inuleus* from *enlo-, to Gr. ἔνελος) ; thus, *sign(i)-lo- > [*sign̥lo-] > *sigen-lo- > [*siginlo-], *sigillum*. In this connection Stolz stated his belief that the suffix *-illo-* had its starting-point in the three diminutives *pugillus*, *sigillum*, and *tigillum*[32], and from them spread by analogy to all the other diminutives which show *-illo-*!

§ 14. The meager statements of W. M. Lindsay[33] on diminutives do not contain his views on the diminutive suffixes as regards either their origin or their extension. One may gather, however, that he did not share in 1894[34] the views of German scholarship in this matter. For example, he did not recognize the phenomenon of samprasāraṇa as operative in Italic[35] ; he derived[36] *sacellum*, not, as hitherto, from *sacro-lom > *sácr̥-lom > *sacer-lom, but from *sácro-lom, becoming with vowel-weakening *sácri-lom, becoming with metathesis of the group *-ri-*[37] *sácer-lom, *sacellum*. One may wonder why we should not rather have diminutive *sacillum by such a metathetic change, but Lindsay left the point dark by assuming that the change of *-ri-* to *-er-* was a phonetic law.

§ 15. To Max Niedermann[38] belongs the credit of being, in 1897, the first to formulate a comprehensive theory on the phonetic origin of the suffixes *-ello-* and *-illo-*. Niedermann sought to show that

31. Stolz referred *ocellus* to the late syncopated form *oclus* of the Appendix Probi, in order to bolster up his theory that diminutives from primitives in *-ulo-* passed through a *-l̥lo-* stage !

32. 135 ; strangely enough, Stolz considered *scabellum* (to *scamnum*), and not *scabillum*, as the phonetic form.

33. The Latin Language, Oxford 1894, 333.

34. Nor in 1915, when he reprinted his old views in the second edition of his Short Historical Latin Grammar, 188.

35. See Latin Language, 273 and 278 (the PIE sonant nasals and liquids), where Lindsay tacitly passed over PIt. *n̥* and *l̥*, and granted PIt. *r̥* (> Latin *-er-*) only dubious existence.

36. 180.

37. According to Lindsay (232), unaccented and accented *-rĭ-* became *-ĕr-* when preceded by a consonant, as in *incĕrtus* < *incrĭtos, *tĕr* < *tĕrs < *trĭs, and *tĕstis* < *tĕrstis < *trĭstis.

38. Ĕ und Ĭ im Lateinischen, 58-69.

the sound-groups *-enl- -erl- -ell-* with original Indo-European *ĕ* were phonetically represented by Latin *-ell-*[39], whereas the groups *-n̥l- -r̥l- -l̥l-* with PIt. (not PIE) syllabic nasal or liquid passed through a hypothetical stage *-ell-* into Latin *-ill-*, *e* changing to *i* before *-ll-*.[40] A few examples may clarify Niedermann's view : (1) **gemeno-lo-s* > **gemenlos* > *gemellus*, whereas **signo-lo-m* > **sign̥lom* > **sigenlom* > * *sigellom* > *sigillum* ; (2) **tenero-lo-s* > **tenerlos* > *tenellus*, whereas **trānstro-lo-m* > **trānstr̥lom* > **trānsterlom* > **trānstellom* > *trānstillum* ; (3) **porcelo-lo-s* > **porcellos* > *porcellus*, whereas **axla-lā* > **axl̥lā* > **axellā* > *axilla*.[41] Specific criticism is readily leveled at Niedermann's assumption that *-r̥l-* phonetically became *-ill-*, since on his own showing only two primitives in *-ro-* have diminutives in *-illo-*, viz. *trānstillum* and *pistillum*[42], all the others having diminutives in *-ello-*. This damaging fact he attempted to explain away on the theory of analogical intervention : he justified the *e* of *agellus*, for example, by the fact that the diminutive in its transitional form **agerlòs* resembled the nominative of its primitive, *ager* ; *labellum* and other like words, in which the nominative of the primitive offered no similarity to the diminutive in its transitional stage *-erl-*, got *-ell-* by extension of the suffix from the type *sacellum*, to *sacer sacrum*. The general criticism may be made that Niedermann's theory presupposes an unwarranted consciousness of linguistic change,

39. The sound-group *-ell-* with PIE *ĕ* was again treated by Niedermann, IF 15.111-3, where he maintained his views in answer to a review of his dissertation by Stolz, IF 13.99-100. Stolz disallowed syncope in the third syllable, which was necessary if Niedermann's groups *-en(o)l-*, *-er(o)l-*, and *-el(o)l-*, were to become Latin *-ell-*, and would derive *asellus* from **asn(o)-lo-s* (to a primitive **asnos*) > **asn̥los* ; this form, as Niedermann rightly observed, could not become *asellus* but only **ānulus*. Similarly, Stolz took *porcellus* from **porcl̥los* < **porc-lo-lo-s*, while Niedermann, taking Lithuanian *parszẽlis* ' *porcelos porculus ' as his basis, posited **porcelo-lo-s* as the starting-form.

40. Niedermann's own formulation, Ĕ und Ĭ 69, reads : ' Indogermanisches *ĕ* blieb vor *-ll-* unverändert, dagegen unterlag durch auf italischem Boden silbenbildend gewordene Liquida oder Nasalis erzeugtes *ĕ* vor *-ll-* dem Wandel zu *ĭ*. ' Cf. also IF 15.111.

41. So too (62), *bacillum* from **bacl̥lom*, but incorrectly *tegillum* from **tegl̥lom* (the suffix of the primitive shows primary *-elo-*) ; *tegillum* certainly has *-illum* by extension, a phenomenon not investigated by Niedermann, as lying beyond the scope of his dissertation.

42. This word Niedermann incorrectly referred to an unattested primitive **pistrum*, disallowing, IF 15.113 note 1, the phonetic possibility that *pistillum* was diminutive to *pīlum* ; see Sommer, Kritische Erläuterungen 23, and Leumann 144. e. α.

and that, even if the apperception of an original PIE *ĕ* still existed in the historical period of the language, such apperception could not have maintained that vowel before *-ll-* in *gemellus tenellus catellus* etc., while *e* of different provenience otherwise became *i* before *-ll-*.[43] Under Niedermann's theory, every *e* before *-ll-* would necessarily have been maintained by some analogical intervention. This brilliant, if untenable, theory at least made it plain that the solution of the problem lay in positing phonetic changes which were completed before *-ll-* developed by assimilation, and the products of which were phonetically uninfluenced by that sound-group.

§ **16.** Ferdinand Sommer[44], writing five years after the appearance of Niedermann's dissertation, was the first to conclude that the *e/i* vocalism of the 'single' diminutive suffixes *-ello- -illo-* is to be explained by the phonetic product of PIt. syllabic *r̥*, *l̥* and *n̥*. He clearly enunciated the theory that PIt. *r̥* plus *l* became *-er-l- -ell-*, PIt. *l̥* plus *l* became *-il-l- -ill-*, and that PIt. *n̥* plus *l* became *-in-l- -ill-*. The 'double' suffix in *-ello-*[45], unaccounted for by this theory, Sommer was inclined to think non-phonetic, and interpreted it by recasting Brugmann's now useless[46] analogical proportion (see above): **pōclom* (*pōculum*) : **pō'c-l̥lom* = **porc-elos* : **porc-ellos*. Brugmann's views of 1906, as stated in the second edition of the Grundriss[47], did not however coincide with Sommer's in all points. Brugmann would derive *porcellus* (to *porculus* from **porcelos*[48]) phonetically from **porcel-(o)-lo-s*, with gemination of the diminutive formans. He regarded the

43. Niedermann's attempt (69) to show that *i* arose subsequent to assimilation, and not prior to it, must be judged unsuccessful (he compared the medial *e* of *dēcernō* < **dēcr̥nō* < **dēcrīnō* with the medial *i* before *rr* in *equirria*, which he derived from **equocr̥siā* < **equocersiā*; but see Hofmann s. v. *currō*). If Latin *-ll-* effected the change from *e* to *i* in some cases, it would have effected the same change in all cases, unless hampered by a series of analogical interventions.

44. Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre, ed. 1, 55-7.

45. The 'double' diminutive suffix in *-illo-* was not considered by Sommer.

46. Useless because the original diminutive suffix was now recognized to be *-elo-*, not *-lo-*. Sommer was perhaps mystified by the 'doubleness' of the suffix, and preferred to regard it as the result, not of conscious duplication of the formans, but of an extra-phonetic process. Or perhaps he regarded syncope in the third syllable as unlikely; cf. IF 11.227, where Sommer derived *lībertās* from **louf(ĕ)rōtāts* (becoming **loufertāts* by analogy to the nominative **loufer*), and not from **loufĕr(ŏ)tāts*.

47. Gdr.[2] 2.1.366 note 2.

48. Brugmann, Gdr.[2] 2.1.366-7, established by IE cognation the fact which Niedermann, Ĕ und Ĭ 62-3, had arrived at *a posteriori*, viz. that the original diminutive suffix was *-ĕlŏ-*.

product of PIt. *n̥* as regularly *en*, but thought that the group *-gn̥-* became *-gen-* and then, with a secondary change, *-gin-* ; he accounted for this secondary change by the theory that *n* after *g* became syllabic agma, short *e* becoming *i* before the sound agma. This theory is at first sight attractive, as explaining the *e*-vocalism of *columella* to *columnȧ*, *Sabellī* from **Safn(o)loi*, *scabellum* to **scabnom scamnum*, and, on the other hand, the *i*-vocalism of *pugillus*, *sigillum*, *tigillum* to *pugnus*, *signum*, and *tignum* ; but on examination it proves ill-founded, for in the sound-group *-gn-* it is really the first element, and not the second, which is agma, or, phonetically represented, *-gn-* = *-ŋn-*, not *-gŋ-*. For example, under Brugmann's assumption, **degnos* (to *decet*) would have to be represented **degŋos*, and this form could never have become *dignus* but would have remained **degnus*.[49] A similar attempt of Brugmann's at refinement of method[50] is now seen to be fruitless : *-l̥l-*, he thought, became *-ill-* primarily after a preceding *s*[51]; from the type-words *axilla* (from **ag-slo-lā* > **ágsl̥lā*), *taxillus*, and *vexillum*, the ending *-illo-* spread to other words.

§ 17. The views of Fr. Stolz, as restated in 1910[52], are unsatisfactory, inasmuch as his theory is based on the assumption that syncope in the third syllable of a word is impossible.[53] Thus, Stolz would see the proof that PIt. *n̥* became *en* in *gemellus*, which he derived from **gemnolos* (to a primitive **gemnos*[54]) > **gémn̥los* > **gemenlos* ; *-l̥l-*, according to Stolz, gave *-ill-*, as in *pōcillum* < **pō'cl̥lom* < **pōclo-lom*, but *porcellus* and other like words had to constitute the exception to this rule, since Stolz found derivation from **porcel(o)-los*, with

49. Another possible objection to Brugmann's phonetics is this : supposing **signo-lo-m* to have become **sigŋolom* > **sigŋ̥lom*, the product of *ŋ̥*, *-eŋ-*, would automatically become *-en-* before the following sound and the resulting diminutive could be only **sigellum*.

50. Gdr.² 1. XLII.

51. Brugmann thought that the *i* of *simplex* (to **sem-* 'one'), as over against the *e* of *templum*, was conditioned by preceding *s* ; but see Hoffmann, BB 18.158 ; Niedermann, Ĕ und Ĭ 8-25 ; Sommer² § 53. 1. b.

52. Lateinische Grammatik, ed. 4, 100 and 104.

53. Cf. Stolz, IF 13.97, and see above, note 39. Götze, IF 41.84, rightly observed that the difference in the products *asellus sigillum* and *catellus pōcillum* necessitates postulation of syncope in the third syllable for *-ello-*, and syncope in the second syllable for *-illo-*, respectively ; for syncope in the third syllable in general, see Leumann 78.2.

54. This primitive, according to his view, acquired an 'anaptyctic' *i* and became Latin *geminus*, as **asnos* became Latin *asinus* ; cf. his Historische Grammatik 1.205, where he accepted the old view of G. Meyer, IF 1.319-20.

syncope in the third syllable, inadmissible [55], and was not convinced by Sommer's analogical proportion.

§ 18. The French investigator C. Juret, who published his dissertation [56] in 1913, apparently considered the position of German scholars in these matters untenable, and proposed a new theory, which is so obscurely propounded for the most part that one cannot be sure of understanding his position completely. Juret's aim seemed to be the elimination of what he considered unwarranted suppositions; he explained the data without the help of phonetic concepts such as syncope and the syllabic liquid and nasal, and believed that metathesis, palatalization, and rhythm were the factors primarily operative in producing the endings *-ello-* and *-illo-*. The following formulation [57] is entirely comprehensible and may serve to exemplify Juret's method and its limitations: ' Les exemples montrent que les dérivés en *-lŏ-* obéissent à un principe rythmique : éviter une forme qui après l'initiale aurait deux syllabes brèves devant le suffixe *-lŏ-*; on n'a donc jamais eu **vĭtĕlŏ-lŏs,* puis *vitellus* par syncope, mais **vĭtĕl-lŏs,* de même non **angĕlŏ-lŏs* mais **angĕl-lŏs.* Les mots tels que *mamilla* obéissent au même principe : si l'on avait **mammŏ-lŏlā*, la dernière syllabe *-lā* serait précédée d'une initiale + deux syllabes brèves ; comme *-lŏlŏ-* est ici un suffixe caractéristique, il reste intact et la voyelle thématique précédente est supprimée ; on n'a jamais eu **mammŏlŏlā*, mais **mammlŏlā*.' Why *vitellus* has *e* may be gathered from Juret's explanation of *agnellus* [58] : ' Il semble donc qu'*agnellus* ait été formé lorsque l'on prononçait **agʷnĕlŏs*, c.-à-d. à l'époque où une brève interne en syllabe libre était devenue *ĕ*. De même *angellus* suppose **angĕl-lŏs* non **angŏl-lŏs*.' On the *i* of *mamilla* and other similar words, Juret offered no explicit statement; one reads [59] merely that ' le groupe *-lŏlŏ-* devient *-illŏ-* après n'importe quelles consonnes ' and finds elsewhere [60] the phonetic progression :**pōclĭlŏm* > *pōcillum*. Apparently, according to Juret, the original **pōclŏ-lŏm* had become at a certain period of the language **pōclĭlŏm*, with *ĭ*, no longer *ŏ* or *ĕ*, now representing the pronunciation of a short vowel in a medial open syllable,

55. Under this assumption, *porcellus* would have to be derived from **porclo-los* (to a demonstrably false antecedent form **porc-los*), becoming **porcl̥los*.

56. Dominance et résistance dans la phonétique latine, 153-67.

57. 155.

58. 156.

59. 157.

60. 167.

and the diminutive *pōcillum* was formed in the same period by metathesis of *-li-* to *-il-*.[61]

§ 19. The problems which we have been reviewing in some detail were briefly touched upon by Alois Walde in 1916 in Die italischen Sprachen.[62] Inasmuch as the purpose of this work was essentially historical and recapitulative, Walde did not advance new opinions of his own, but set down a composite of the views of Sommer and Brugmann.[63]

§ 20. At present it seems that at least the fundamental question of the phonetic product of the groups *-r(o)-l-*, *-n(o)-l-*, and *-l(o)-l-* with samprasāraṇa has received a definitive answer[64] : *-r̥l-* > *-er-l-* > *-ell-*, *-n̥l-* > *-in-l-* > *-ill-*, and *-l̥l-* > *-il-l-* > *-ill-*.[65] A consideration of the unsatisfactory, or partially unsatisfactory, theories reviewed above will tend to show (negatively) that the present theory jointly maintained by Sommer, Leumann, and Niedermann is probably correct. It will be one of the aims of the following pages to corroborate this impression in a positive fashion by a full presentation of the materials.

61. Juret's later formulations, Manuel de phonétique latine 145-7, are clear, but are not illustrated by adequate phonetic progressions. Apparently, the following would represent Juret's views on the development of diminutives in *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* from stems in *-ro/ā-*, *-no-*, and *-lo/ā-* (bracketed forms not indicated by Juret) :
**rūtrolom* (or [**rūtrilom*]) > [**rūtorlom* (**rūtirlom*)] > [**rūterlom*], *rūtellum* ;
**pugnolos* > [**pugonlos*] > [**pugollos*] > *pugillus* (*o* > *i* by palatalization) ;
**putslolos* > [**pussollos*] > *pusillus* (*o* > *i* by palatalization).
Cf. Niedermann, Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift 42.294 and 982 (1922), who in a review of the Manuel similarly interpreted Juret's formulations.

62. = Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft, edited by Streitberg, 2.1.169-70.

63. Thus, for example, Walde accepted Sommer's analogical proportion in accounting for the 'double' suffix in *-ello-*, and Brugmann's view that PIt. *n̥* became *-en-*, except after *g*, where it became *ŋ̥* > *-eŋ-* > *-iŋ-* > *-in-*.

64. There has been some hesitation in accepting *-in-* as the product of PIt. *n̥* and *-il(l)-* as the product of PIt. *l̥(l)*, in view of the marked divergence of these products from those of PIE *n̥* (> Latin *-en-*) and PIE *l̥* (> Latin *-ol-*) ; R. G. Kent expresses a dissenting view in The Sounds of Latin, § 124.

65. See Sommer[2] 82-3 ; Leumann, Lateinische Grammatik, Part 1, §§ 102, 104, and 172. IV. A ; and Niedermann, Précis de Phonétique Historique du Latin[2] (Paris 1931), 51-2.

## III. GENERAL REMARKS ON THE DIMINUTIVES OF REPUBLICAN DATE

§ **21**. In historical Latin the termination *-ĕllŏ/ā-* formed diminutives to primitives [1] with stems ending (1) in *-rŏ/ā-* : type *agellus*, to *ager*, stem **agrŏ-* ; (2) in a short vowel plus *-nŏ/ā-* : type *asellus*, to *asinus*, stem **asĕnŏ-* ; and (3) in *-lŏ/ā-* : types *cistella*, to *cistula* [1], stem **cistĕlā-*, and *fābella*, to *fābula*, stem **fāblā-*. The termination *-ĭllŏ/ā-* formed diminutives to primitives with stems ending (1) in *-nŏ-* and *-nĭ-* : types *sigillum*, to *signum*, stem **signŏ-*, and *pastillus*, to *pānis*, stem **pastnĭ-* ; and (2) in *-lŏ/ā-* : types *axilla*, to *āla*, stem **agslā-*, *bacillum*, to *baculum*, stem **baclŏ-*, and *mamilla*, to *mammula* [1], stem **mammĕlā-*. The ending *-īllŏ/ā-* formed diminutives to primitives with stems in *-īnŏ/ā-* : type *vīllum*, to *vīnum*, stem **vīnŏ-*. Morphologically considered, the suffixes of *agellus*, *asellus*, *fābella*, *sigillum*, *pastillus*, *axilla*, *bacillum*, *cistella*, and *mamilla* do not all stand on the same plane. [2] The suffixes of the first seven words may be termed ' single ', since these diminutives are referable to non-diminutive primitives : *ager*, *asinus*, *fābula*, *signum*, *pānis*, *āla*, and *baculum* ; the suffixes of *cistella* and *mamilla*, however, may be termed ' double ', since their primitives, *cistula* and *mammula*, are themselves diminutives to *cista* and *mamma*. It will be shown in the sequel that misconceptions of the true nature of these suffixes were at least partially instrumental in bringing about their extension.

§ **22**. After the establishment of the types we have indicated above was completed, the endings *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* were gradually felt to

1. If *ager* is the primitive of *agellus*, i. e., is the direct morphological antecedent on which the diminutive is made, then *cistula* may perhaps justifiably be termed the primitive with respect to *cistella*, since the latter form is morphologically made on *cistula*, and not on *cista*.

2. The terms ' single ' and ' double ' are used throughout chiefly in a morphological sense. Others have treated the ' single ', the ' double ', and the ' triple ' suffix from the semantic standpoint. See Cooper, Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius 168 ; W. A. Baehrens, Sprachlicher Kommentar z. vulgärlat. Appendix Probi 121-2 ; and F. Conrad, Die Deminutiva im Altlatein, Glotta 19.140-1 (1931).

be independent suffixes and were attached to other stems. Thus, for example, during the Republic *novus* acquired the diminutive *novellus* [3], and *anguis* acquired the formation *anguilla* [4]; in the Imperial period both *anilla* and *anucella* were formed on *anus* 'old woman'. After the Augustan age many new diminutives in *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* were patterned after the types established in earlier times or formed by the process of extension which has just been mentioned. The latter process was naturally more productive of diminutives during the Empire than in the Republic.

§ 23. In the present study the term Republican is not used in a strictly chronological sense, but merely to distinguish the comparatively early diminutives from the later (Imperial) ones. If any line of demarcation may here be drawn between 'early' and 'late', it may justifiably be after the Augustan period, which marked a climax in the linguistic and stylistic development of the language. Accordingly, the few words in *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* which are first attested in Horace, Vergil, Ovid, and Livy have been included in those lists which contain the early diminutives. In the following tables an author's name signifies that a given word is first attested in his writings. [5] By-forms and variant readings are cited in foot-notes concurrently with the first mention of a given diminutive. Attestation is often omitted in the case of variants which seem to rest on manuscript tradition rather than on individual usage. The meaning of primitives is not indicated unless the primitive signifies a thing different in nature from the diminutive.

3. **Novolus* probably never existed; if it did, it is strange that we nowhere find it attested.

4. *Anguilla* 'eel' is of course non-diminutive in meaning. The diminutive formation was sometimes employed merely to express a certain relationship in meaning between two words, as in the well-known examples *ōsculum* 'kiss', to *ōs* 'mouth', and *capillus* 'hair', probably to *caput* 'head'. This function of the diminutive formation may perhaps, for want of a better name, be termed the 'relational'; cf. Friedrich, Demin. Bild. 63.

5. The first attestation of a given word is sometimes an inadequate criterion of its age. All diminutives occurring for the first time in Festus or Paulus Diaconus may justifiably be regarded as early, since the text of these epitomators rests on that of the Augustan encyclopaedist Verrius Flaccus, who had concerned himself largely with archaic terms bearing on Roman religion and history. Generally speaking, diminutives of Imperial date have been listed with the earlier words when the internal evidence of their derivation and their contexts has justified such inclusion.

# IV. REPUBLICAN DIMINUTIVES IN *-ELLO/Ā-* FROM PRIMITIVES IN *-RO/Ā-*

List 1 : Diminutives in *-ello/ā-* from primitives in *-ro/ā-* and *-ero/ā-*

1 *agellus* ' small field ', Ter. ; to *ager* (*-gro-*).
*austellus* ' gentle south wind ', Lucil. ; to *auster* (*-tro-*).
*camella* [1] ' goblet ', Laber. ; to *camera* (*-erā-* [2]) ' covered gondola '.
*cancellī* [3] ' grating, bars ', Cic. ; to *cancer* [4] (*-cro-*).
5 *canistellum* [5] ' bread-basket, fruit-basket ', Paul.-Fest. [6] ; to *canistrum* (*-tro-*).
*capella* [7] ' she-goat ', Pompon. ; to *capra* (*-prā-*).
*castellum* ' fort ', Caes. ; to *castrum* (*-tro-*).
*cerebellum* ' small brain ', Titin. ; to *cerebrum* (*-bro-*).
*clītellae* [8] ' pack-saddle ', Plaut. ; to a Lat. equivalent of Umbr. **kletram** (*-trā-*) ' feretrum, lecticam '.
10 *cultellus* ' small knife ', Varro ; to *culter* (*-tro-*).
*dextella* ' (little) right hand ', Cic. ; to *dextera* (*-erā-*) or *dextra* (*-trā-*).
*dolābella* ' pick-axe ', cognomen in time of Cic. ; to *dolābra* (*-brā-*).
*fenestella* ' small window ', Ovid ; to *fenestra* (*-trā-*).
*flābellum* ' fan ', Ter. ; to *flābra -ōrum* (*-bro-*) ' breezes '.

1. By-form : *gamella* Scaurus (time of Hadrian).

2. This stem was weakened from *-ărā-*, since *camera* (*cammara* App. Probi) was borrowed from Gr. καμάρā ' gondola '. It should be noted that *-ā-* does not appear in derivatives of *-ā-* stems, except in *fabāginus* (to *faba*), *oleāgin(e)us* (to *olea*), and *capreāginus* (to *caprea*), where perhaps the whole ending *-āgin(e)us* is analogical in origin ; see Leumann 172. I. B.

3. By-form : *cancella -ae* CGL 4. 531. 46 (fem. after *caulae*).

4. *Cancer* ' grating ' is found only in Paul.-Fest. 46. 2 M : cancri dicebantur ab antiquis qui nunc per diminutionem cancelli.

5. By-form : *canistellus* Not. Tir. 108.96 S, to masc. *canister*.

6. Paul.-Fest. 45.19 M cana dicunt Graeci, nos canistra et per diminutionem canistella. On the inclusion with the earlier words of diminutives first attested in Festus or Paulus, see § 23 supra, note 5.

7. Masc. *capellus* Prisc., to *caper*.

8. By-forms : *cletellae* Greg. Tur. (*clec-* cod. B 1), *clat-* CGL 2.522.18 (influenced by *strātum* ' saddle ' ?) ; and with dissimilation *crit-* Veget., *cret-* CGL 5.594.34, and sing. *cratella* Chiron. For the meaning of *clītellae*, see Fröhde, BB 17.303, and Meringer, IF 16.120.

15 *flagellum* ' whip ', Catul. ; to *flagrum* (*-gro-*).
*grāvastellus* [9] ' gray-headed person ', Plaut. ; to *grāvaster* (*-tro-*) ' grayish '.
*integellus* ' pretty safe ', Catul. ; to *integer* (*-gro-*).
*labellum* ' (little) lip ', Plaut. ; to *labrum* (*-bro-*).
*lābellum* ' tub, basin ', Cato ; to *lābrum* (*-bro-*).
20 *lībella* ' tenth part of a denarius ', Plaut. ; to *lībra* (*-brā-*) ' Roman pound-weight '.
*libellus* ' little book ', Catul. ; to *liber* (*-bro-*).
*lucellum* ' small gain ', Cic. ; to *lucrum* (*-cro-*).
*macellus* ' thinnish ', Lucil. ; to *macer* (*-cro-*).
*misellus* ' wretched ', Plaut. ; to *miser* (*-ero-*).
25 *mitella* ' head-band, turban ', Cic. ; to *mitra* (*-trā-*).
*mōstellum* [10] (gl.), *Mōstellāria* ' The Ghost ', name of a Plautine comedy ; to *mōnstrum* (*-tro-*) ' divine omen, prodigy '.
*nigellus* [11] ' blackish ', Varro ; to *niger* (*-gro-*).
*opella* ' light labor, small service ', Lucr. ; to *opera* (*-erā-*).
*patella* ' pan, flat dish ', Varro ; to *patera* [12] (*-erā-*).
30 *peditastellus* ' (wretched) foot-soldier ', Plaut. ; to **peditaster* (*-tro-*), a formation on *pedit-*, stem of *pedes*.
*plōstellum* [13] ' small wagon ', Varro ; to *plōstrum* (*-tro-*).
*puella* ' girl ', Plaut. ; to *puera* [14] (*-erā-*).

9. Spelled both *gravastellus* and *ravistellus* in Paulus Diaconus (*-ist-* induced by other diminutives in *-istello/ā-*, such as *canistellum*); see Paul.-Fest. 96.13 and 272.7M, and Walde $^2$ s.vv. *grāvastellus* and *rāvus* ' gray '. For *gr-* becoming *r-*, see Leumann 117. For the suffix *-aster* (*-astro-*) of unknown origin and pejorative meaning, see Leumann 172. VII.B. See also List 18.41 *gravescella*.

10. CGL 2.470.22 *mostellum* φάσμα ; cf. CGL 2.587.42 *monstellum*, and 3.457.13 *muscellum* φάσμα (for *u* cf. the doublets *clōstellum clūstellum* ; see List 11. 3 and note). On *c* for *t* before the palatal vowel *e* in *mūscellum*, see Leumann 111.b and d. For the weakening of *n* before *s* and the writing *s* for *ns* in *mōstellum*, see Leumann 105 ; cf. CIL $I^2$.8 COSOL and CESOR, and CIL $I^2$.581 COSOLERETUR (beside CONSOLVERVNT).

11. The fem. subst. *nigella -ae* (CGL 3.595.5 *sinonus siriacus*) may be a late translation of Gr. μελάνθιον ' Nigella sativa, fennel flower ' ; cf. Meyer-Lübke REW $^2$ no. 5915 (' black cumin ').

12. *Patera*, rather than *patina*, is to be assigned as the primitive, since only the former word has the meaning ' libation-bowl, offering-dish ' in common with *patella*.

13. Var. *plaustellum*, to *plaustrum* ; see Sommer $^2$ 78-9.

14. Since *puella* meant ' girl ' and not specifically ' little girl ', it was perhaps made on *puer* (*puero-*) to differentiate the fem. gender in this originally epicene noun. *Puera*, though attested for early Latin (cf. Suet. Calig. 8 quod antiqui etiam puellas

*puellus* [15] 'little boy', Ennius; to *puer* (*-ero-*).
*pulchellus* [16] 'beautiful little', Cic.; to *pulcher* (*-chro-*).
35 *rāstellus* [17] 'rake, hoe', Varro; to *rāstrum* (*-tro-*).
*rūtellum* 'small shovel', Lucil.; to *rūtrum* (*-tro-*).
*sacellum* 'small sanctuary', Ter.; to *sacrum* (*-cro-*).
*scalpellum* [18] 'small (surgical) knife', Cic.; to *scalprum* (*-pro-*).
*scūtella* [19] 'tray, platter', Cic.; to *scūtra* (*-trā-*).
40 *sēmbella* 'a half-libella, half-as', Varro [20]; to *lībella*, q. v.
*stēlla* 'star', Ennius; to the Italic cognate of Gr. ἀστήρ [21].
*tenellus* '(somewhat) tender', Plaut.; to *tener* (*-ero-*).
*trā(n)stillum* [22] 'small cross-beam', Vitr.; to *trānstrum* (*-tro-*).
*vafellus* 'cunning', Fest.; to *vafer* (*-fro-*).

§ **24**. From the above list it will be observed (1) that primitives with stems ending in consonant plus *-ro/ā-* form their diminutives in *-ello/ā-* [23], with the sole exception of *trānstrum*, which has the dimin-

pueras dictitarent), is rare and may perhaps be reckoned as an analogical formation.

15. *Puellus* is attested principally by the grammarians and was probably never in common usage. It may have been made as a collateral form to *puella*.

16. Var. spelling *pulcellus*, to *pulcer*; see Terent. Scaur., GL 7.20.4, and Sommer [2] 200-1.

17. This diminutive does not take its gender from *rāstrum*, but from the heterogeneous plural *rāstrī* (more common than *rāstra*); for the gender of diminutives in general, see Brugmann, IF 19.215, and A. Weinhold, ALL 4.169-88 (Genuswechsel der Deminutive).

18. By-form *scalpellus* Celsus, to masc. *scalper* (Celsus).

19. New formations: *scutrilla* Thes. Nov. Latin. 567 (Mai), and *scutrillus* Pompeius Gram. *Scūtella* acquired the back-formation *scūtula* 'small dish' Cato, perhaps because of the resemblance of a platter to a small shield (*scūtulum*). But *scūta* Lucil. (223 Marx -◡◡ *scūtam Ligneolam in cerebro infixit*) is probably a back-formation of *scūtula* 'cylinder, barrel', a borrowing of Gr. σκυτάλη 'cudgel'. See Niedermann, Anzeiger f. indoger. Sprach- u. Altertumskunde 19.35, and ALL 14.436.

20. LL 5.174 sembella quod libellae dimidium, quod semis assis. *Sēmbella* is derived, with syncope and dissimilatory shortening, from **sem(i)bella* < **sēmi-(lī)bella* see Walde [2] s. v.

21. See Walde [2] s.v. *sternō*; the simple monosyllable **stēr* 'star' was amplified, in Greek by a prothetic ἀ-, in Latin by a diminutive formation. The primitive **stēr*, being a consonant stem, perhaps added the formans without a connecting vowel: **stēr-lā* > *stēlla*; see Leumann 172. IV. A. Meillet does not consider *stēlla* a diminutive, and derives it from **stēl-nā* (**stēl-* being the doublet form of PIE **stēr* in Gr. ἀ-στήρ); see Ernout-Meillet, Dict. Étym. s. v. *stella*.

22. Var. reading *trāstillum* (*trastillis* Vitr. 5. 12. 3, ed. Rose).

23. Forms such as *fenestrula* Apul., *miserulus* Liv. Andr., *mitrula* Solin., *operula* Apul., *puerulus* Cic., and *tesserula* Lucil. (*tessella* Sen.) are analogical formations made directly on the primitives *fenestra*, *miser*, *mitra*, *opera*, *puer*, and *tessera*.

utive *trā(n)stillum* ; and (2) that primitives with stems ending in *-ero/ā-* likewise form their diminutives in *-ello/ā-* [24]. In the production of diminutives falling in the first group three factors were operative: syncope [25] of the short vowel between *r* of the stem and *l* of the diminutive suffix *-elo/ā-* [26]; development of *er* under the resultant condition of samprasāraṇa [27] ; and assimilation of *rl* to *ll*. [28] For dimin-

24. See note 23.

25. The conditions of syncope in Latin have not yet been fully determined. One may, however, accept as established fact the general principle that syncope in the second syllable was common, whereas syncope in the third syllable was uncommon. Götze, IF 41.80 sqq., considers syncopations of the latter type as phonetic and as the earliest, but adduces many examples which give the impression rather of analogical development ; for criticism of his views, see Leumann 78.2. It is uncertain, for example, whether *lībertās* is to be derived from **loifer(o)tāts*, or from **loif(e)rotāts* becoming **loifertāts*, *lībertās*, by analogy to the nom. sing. of the adj. **loifer(s)*, *līber* (so Sommer, IF 11.227). In this study, syncope in the second syllable will be assumed for the development of the following types of diminutives: *agellus* < **agr(e)los*, *sigillum* < **sign(e)lom*, *axilla* < **agsl(e)lā*, and *bacillum* < **bakl(e)lom* ; syncope in the third syllable will be assumed for the types: *patella* < **pater(e)lā*, *asellus* < **asen(e)los*, *cistella* < **cistel(e)lā*, and *pistrīlla* < **pistrīn(e)lā*.

26. The original diminutive suffix was normally *-ĕlŏ/ā-*, rather than *-lŏ/ā-* or *-ŏlŏ/ā-*; cf. the 'double' suffix *-ello/ā-* from *-ĕl-ĕlŏ/ā-*, Umbr. **katel** 'catulus', Umbr. **struçla** '*struiculam' (*ç* showing that *ĕ* has been syncopated), Osc. *famel* 'famul, famulus', Fal. *arcentelom* '*argentulum' ; OHG *farheli* (= NHG *Ferkel*) ; Lith. *parszẽlis* 'porculus'. For example, **porc-elo-s* > **porc-olo-s* (*ĕ* becoming *ŏ* before velar *l*) > *porculus* ; **porc-el-(e)lo-s* > **porc-ello-s* (*ĕ* remaining before palatal *ll*) > *porcellus*. If *porcellus* be taken from **porc-ol-(o)lo-s* > **porcollos*, the change to *-ell-* must be assigned to the influence of palatal *ll* ; but cf. *ampulla* < **ampor(e)lā*, *homullus* < **hemon(e)los*, and *satullus* < **satur(e)los*, where the influence of *ll* was apparently in abeyance. See Leumann 102.1 end, and 172. IV.A ; von Planta, Grammatik der osk.-umbr. Dialekte, 1.261 and 362, 2.25-6.

27. The phonetic process by which a postconsonantal *i̯*, *u̯*, *r*, *l*, or *n* becomes through syncope *i*, *u*, *r̥*, *l̥*, or *n̥* is termed samprasāraṇa, an expression of Hindu grammarians. That samprasāraṇa, and not merely metathesis, was present in the development of **agr-elos* to **agerlos*, *agellus*, is shown by the development of **pōcl-elom* to *pōcillum*. If it be assumed with Juret, Dominance et résistance 167, that metathesis was operative in the change of **pōclĭ-lom* to *pōcillum*, one is driven to the unwarranted conclusion that *pōcillum* was formed in a period when a short vowel in an open medial syllable was pronounced *ĭ*, whereas *agellus* was formed in an earlier period when a short vowel in the same position was pronounced *ĕ*. — PIt. *r̥*, arising by samprasāraṇa, regularly gave *-er-* : **ágros* > **ágr̥s* > **agerz* > **agerr* > *ager*; **sácr(o)-dōts* > **sácr̥dōts* > *sacerdōs*. See Sommer[2] § 67 ; Leumann 102.

28. In other Italic dialects this process produced similar results ; see von Planta, Grammatik der osk.-umbr. Dialekte, 1.323-4. Cf. Osc. **Aderl[ú]** 'Atella' < **Ātr(o)lā* ; *r* perhaps = *r̥* in Sab. *Atrno* 'Aternus' < **Atr(o)no-*, and in Osc. **Tantrnnaiúm**. *Abella* was taken by Corssen, KZ 2.17, from **Apr(o)lā* (to *aper*),

utives falling in the second group only the first and last of these changes must be assumed. Regular phonetic development can by no means be postulated for all diminutives of List 1; we may single out perhaps *capella*, *lābellum*, *patella*, *puella*, and *sacellum* as old words [29], and show the development of the last two:

**púer-elā* (to *puera* [30]) > **púer-lā* > *puella*;
**sácr-elom* (to *sacrum*) > **sácr̥-lom* > **sacer-lom* > *sacellum*.

§ 25. The majority of the diminutives of this group are probably analogical in origin. Thus, *agellus* was perhaps formed after the analogy of *sacellum*; *cultellus*, *flagellum*, *plōstellum*, *rāstellus*, *rūtellum*, and *scalpellum* after *lābellum*; *camella*, *mitella*, and *scutella* after *patella*. Many give the impression of being coined by speakers of conversational Latin or by individual writers, in order to express an emotional nuance not conveyed by the primitives [31]: *austellus*, *cerebellum* [32], *dextella*, *fenestella*, *grāvastellus*, *integellus*, *labellum* 'lip', *lucellum*, *macellus*, *misellus*, *nigellus* [33], *opella*, *peditastellus*, *pulchellus*, and *tenellus*. *Flābellum*, *castellum*, *lībella*, and *libellus* were perhaps made on the model of already existing 'relational' [34] diminutives such as *camella* and *clītellae*, in order to indicate a relationship with the meaning of their primitives *flābra* [35], *castrum* or *castra*, *lībra*, and *liber*. Since *castra* meant 'camp', and the singular *castrum* 'fort' was not current (except in place-names [36]), a diminutive *castellum* was made (by

and by von Planta, op. cit. 1.336, from **Agʷnolā* (to *agnus*), but is now derived by Hofmann s. v., from **ablonā*, 'Benennung der Stadt nach der Apfelzucht'.

29. *Capella* and *lābellum* 'tub' as old agricultural words, *patella* and *sacellum* as ritualistic terms.

30. See above, note 14.

31. See F. Conrad, Glotta 19.135; Conrad, following J. B. Hofmann, Lateinische Umgangssprache (Heidelberg 1926) 140, proposes to express the distinction between the emotional and the intellectual phrase or statement by the term 'lust- oder unlustbetonte Begriffe'. For the emotional coloring of diminutives, see Wölfflin, Philologus 34.153 and ALL 9.10-1; and Wilhelm Kroll, C. Valerius Catullus (Leipzig 1923), notes on 61.181, 63.35, and 64.103.

32. This word was of course used in a technical non-emotional meaning by medical writers.

33. Cf. Varro ap. Non. 456.9 M *oculis suppaetulis nigelli pupuli*, which conveys no more to the understanding than would *oculis paetis nigri pupuli*. The first phrase has emotional coloring, the second is an intellectual statement of exactly the same sense but bare of adventitious suggestion.

34. See § 22 supra, note 4.

35. On the relation of *flābellum* and *flābra*, see Friedrich, Demin. Bild. 68.

36. See Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v. *castrum*.

Caesar ?) to continue the meaning ' fort '. With respect to *lībra, lībella* has at once ' relational ' and diminutive meaning. [37] *Libellus* meant especially ' a book written in pages ' [38], as distinct from its primitive *liber*, which was a volume written on a roll of papyrus. *Cancellī* may stand for **carcellī*, to *carcerēs* [39], and may have served to distinguish the broader generic meaning ' bar(s) ' [40] from the specific meaning of the primitive, ' racing-barriers in the Circus '. *Trā(n)s-tillum* is a nonce-word [41], and if the manuscript tradition is correct, perhaps owes its *i* to *tigillum*, which is related in meaning. [42]

37. Cf. Varro LL 5.174 nummi denarii decuma libella, quod libram pondo as valebat, et erat ex argento parva.

38. Cf. Suet. Caes. 56 epistulae, quas primus videtur ad paginas et formam memorialis libelli convertisse.

39. So Hofmann, s. v. (1.) *cancer*, after Skutsch, BB 22.127, who proposed that *cancer* ' bar ' is a dissimilated form of *carcer(ēs)*.

40. See Thes. Ling. Lat., s. v. *cancellus*. *Cancellī* seems never to have shared the meaning ' racing-stalls ' with its primitive (?) *carcerēs* (cf. perh. Cic. Quinct. 36 si extra hos cancellos egredi conabor, where *cancellos* is equivalent to *fines*).

41. Vitr. 5.12.3 ; see Sommer [2] 82, and Juret, Dominance et résistance 158, note 1. Juret would derive *trānstillum* from **trānstrolom*, becoming **trānstlolom* by dissimilation, the group *-lolo-* regularly becoming (157) *-illo-*. But it is difficult to understand why we should not then also have **rāstillus* and **rūtillum*, to *rāstrum* and *rūtrum*, where also the conditions for dissimilatión were present.

42. For *tigillum* with the meaning ' small beam ', see Liv. 1.26.13, Catul. 67. 39, and Juv. 7.46.

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# V. REPUBLICAN DIMINUTIVES IN *-ELLO/A-*, *-ILLO-*, AND *-ĪLLO/Ā-* FROM PRIMITIVES IN *-NO/Ā-*

## List 2 : Diminutives in *-ello/ā-* from primitives in *-eno/ā-*, with Latin forms in *-ĭno/ā-* extant

1 *asellus*[1] '(little) ass, ass's colt'[2], Plaut. ; to *asinus* (*-eno-*[3]).
*bellus* 'pretty, fine', Plaut. ; to *bonus* (*-eno-*, attested by OLat. DVENOS[4]).
*columella*[5] 'pillar', Cato ; to *columna* (*-[e]nā-*[6]).
*fēmella* 'young female, girl', Catul. ; to *fēmina* (*-enā-*[7]).
5 *fiscella*[8] 'small basket', Cato ; to *fiscina* (*-enā-*[9]).

1. Fem. *asella* Ovid, to *asina*.

2. *Asellus* in the meaning 'sea-fish (cod ?)' may be a translation of Gr. ὀνίσκος of the same meaning ; see Friedrich, Demin. Bild. 58.

3. Weakened from *-ono-* in the original form **asonos* < **osonos* ; cf. Gr. ὄνος from PGr. *οhονος > *hο-ονος, i. e. ὁ ὄνος ! See Hofmann s. v. *asinus*.

4. Dvenos (CIL I$^2$.4) became OLat. *duonos* 'bonus' (DVONORO CIL I$^2$.9) by vowel-assimilation ; but *bene* < **benē* < **du̯enēd*.

5. Var. MSS reading *columnella*. *Columellus* (sc. *dēns*) 'eye-tooth', attested by Chiron and Isidore, is a back-formation from *columellāris* (*dēns*) found in Varro ; see Sofer, Isid. 128.

6. *Columna* is perhaps best taken as a pres. medio-passive part. from the root **qel-* 'project' and derived from **qelom(e)nā* ; see Hofmann s. v., where the several views are criticized. Some are of the opinion that Latin *-mno/ā-* represents a different ablaut-grade from *-meno/ā-*, and is not a syncopated form of the latter (under this assumption, *damnum*, for example, is from **da-mno-m*, not from **da-meno-m*) ; see Meillet, MSL 21.196, and Leumann 172.IX.G. Accordingly, the diminutive *columella* may be derived in two ways : (1) with syncope and assimilation, from **kelomen(e)lā* ; or (2) with samprasāraṇa and assimilation, from **kelomn(e)lā* > **kolomn̥lā* > **koluminlā* > **columilla*, becoming *columella* by analogy to diminutives in *-ello/ā-* from *-(e)ro/ā-* or *-eno/ā-* stems. I incline to adopt the first derivation ; the second is that of Leumann 106 ; see also Sommer$^2$ 83 (indecisive). If regular phonetic development is waived, *columella* may be explained as made after the model of *scamellum* (: phonetic *scabillum*), to *scamnum* ; thus *scamnum* : *scamellum* = *columna* : *columella*.

7. *Fēmina* is from PIE **dhē-menā*, cf. Gr. θημένη 'giving suck' ; see Walde$^2$ s. v.

8. By-forms : *fiscellus* Colum. (gender after *fiscus*), whence the back-formation *fisclum* Isid., and *fiscilla* Edict. Imp. Diocl. ; cf. also Paul.-Fest. 90.2 M fiscellus (-ellō ?) casei mollis appetitor, ut catillones catillorum liguritores.

9. On the Lat. suffix *-ino/ā-* as seen, e. g., in *fiscina*, *facinus*, *pāgina*, and *sarcina*, see Brugmann, Gdr.$^2$ 2.1.260 and 267, Leumann 172. IX. A. 4.

*gemellus* 'twin-', Catul.; to *geminus* (*-eno-*).
*lāmella* [10] 'small plate of metal', Vitr.; to *lāmina* (*-enā-* [11]).
*numella* [12] 'fetter', Plaut.; perh. from **numen-elā* [13], to *nuit* gl. [14], 'operuit, texit'.
*pāgella* [15] '(small) page', Cic.; to *pāgina* (*-enā-*).

§ **26**. Of these words perhaps *asellus* and *bellus* may be regarded as old and phonetic, and as having set the type on which the remaining diminutives were formed. The phonetic development of *asellus* and *bellus* involved syncope and assimilation:

**asen-elos* [16] > **asenlos* > *asellus*;
**du̯en-elos* > **du̯enlos* > *bellus*.

*Fiscella* may have developed, with like phonetic changes, from **fiscen-elā* [17], or have been made on *fiscina* after the analogy of *asinus asellus*.. Whether *fiscella* was formed in preliterary Latin while its primitive was still **fiscenā*, or whether it was made by analogy on the historical primitive *fiscina*, this diminutive probably provided the model on which *lāmella* and *pāgella* were formed. Similarly, the adjective *gemellus* was perhaps made after the analogy of the old word *bellus*; *fēmella* [18] after *gemella* or *asella*. [19] *Columella* and *numella* have been included with this group of words on the grounds that derivation

10. Var. MSS reading *lammella*, to *lammina*; on the syncopated primitive *lamna* was made *lamnula* Tertul.

11. *Lāmina* is perhaps from **stlāmenā* 'the extended (thing)', to (*st*)*lātus* 'broad'; see Leumann 172.IX.G.

12. By-form *numellus* Colum. For the meaning, cf. Paul.-Fest. 173.18 M numella genus vinculi, quo quadrupedes deligantur, solet autem ea fieri nervo, aut corio crudo bovis, ut plurimum.

13. So Walde[2] s. v. *numella*, after Fay, AJP 25.372. Muller, Altit. Wörterb. 291, derives the word, after Lidén, KZ 41.398, from **nomnā* 'band' < **nop-nā*, to *napurae* 'straw ropes'; but **nopn(e)lā* would have become **nubilla* (?), and then *numella* only by analogy to *scamellum* (: *scabillum*, to **scabnom scamnum*). Meillet considers the word to be of unknown etymology; see Ernout-Meillet, Dict. Étym. s. v.

14. CGL 5.122.29.

15. Both *pāgella* and *pāginula* were probably coined by Cicero.

16. One is justified in positing a form with *-en-* (1) because the historical form *asellus* shows an *e*, and (2) because the similar *e* of the old diminutive *bellus* is guaranteed as phonetic by OLat. DVENOS.

17. That *fiscella* was an old household word we infer from Isidore's gloss, *forma ubi casei exprimuntur*.

18. *Fēmella* is very rare and impresses one as a coinage (of Catul. ?).

19. See note 1, supra.

from **kelomen(e)lā*[20] and **numen(e)lā* is possible and that no explanation more satisfactory has yet been proposed.

### List 3: Diminutives in *-illo-* from primitives in *-no-* and *-ni-*

1 *pastillus*[21] 'little loaf of bread, lozenge', Paul.-Fest. or Hor.; to *pānis* (stem **pastni-*[22]).
*pugillus*[23] 'handful', Cato; to *pugnus* (*-no-*) 'fist'.
*scabillum*[24] 'low bench, footstool', Cato; to *scamnum* (stem **skabno-*).
*sigillum* Frat. Arv.[25], *sigilla*[26] *-ōrum* 'figurines', Cic.; to *signum* (*-no-*) 'statue'.
5 *tigillum*[27] 'piece of wood, small beam', Plaut.; to *tignum* (*-no-*).
*vatillum*[28] 'shovel, chafing dish', Varro; to *vannus*[29] (stem **u̯atno-*) 'winnowing fan'.

§ 27. In view of the consistency with which primitives ending in

20. For the equally possible analogical origin of *columella*, see note 6. To derive *columella* from **kelomen(e)lā* necessitates postulation of syncope in the fourth syllable, which, in the judgment of some, would doubtless speak against the assumption of regular phonetic development for this diminutive.

21. Neut. *pastillum* Varro, after *lībum* (?); cf. Paul.-Fest. 251.13 M pastillum in sacris libi genus rotundi.

22. Even in antiquity *pastillus* was thought to be the diminutive of *pānis*; cf. Paul.-Fest. 222.18 M pastillus forma panis parvi, utique diminutivum est a pane. Sommer[2] 253 (and Krit. Erläut. 24) and Leumann 106 support this by deriving *pānis* from **pastni-s* and *pastillus* from **pastni-lo-s*. Walde[2], however, would derive *pānis* from **pā-nis* (to *pā-scor*), and would take *pastillus* as diminutive to **pastum* or *pasta* 'dough' (< Gr. πάστη). See also Ernout-Meillet, Dict. Étym. s. v. *pānis* (< **pasnis*).

23. Neut. *pugillum* CGL 2.164.30 (gender after Gr. δράγμα 'handful'?); cf. 2.164.26 *pugilla* ἐπισφαίρια (influenced by *pugil*; cf. *pugillō* = *pugilō*).

24. By-form *scabellum* Varro; *scamillus* Vitr., *scamillum* Itala, and *scamellum* Prisc. (also *scamnellum* Paul. Nolan.) are new formations on the historical primitive *scamnum*: *scamnum* (**scabnom*) : *scabillum* (*-ellum*) = *scamnum* : *scamillum* (*-ellum*).

25. SIGILLVM (VOLKANI) is found in Inscriptiones Fratrum Arvalium 357 (Marini).

26. A 'double' diminutive *sigilliola -ōrum* 'figurines' is found in Arnobius. A back-formation **sigula* is to be assumed for *sigla -ōrum* 'signs of abbreviation', Cod. Just.

27. New formation *tignulum* Boeth.

28. Var. MSS reading *batillum*; by-form *batillus* Marc. Empir.

29. *Vatillum*, which means primarily 'shovel', is probably to be referred, with Sommer[2] 232 (and Krit. Erläut. 86) and Leumann 143.b (PIE and PIt. *-tn-*),

postconsonantal *-no-* and *-ni-* formed their diminutives in *-illo-* [30], it may be assumed that PIt. *n̥* arising by samprasāraṇa phonetically gave Latin *-in(l)-* [31] > *-il(l)-*. It must be admitted, however, that this assumption is contestable (1) for the reason that PIE *n̥* gave Latin *-en-* [32]; (2) because the evidence of Oscan and Umbrian does not corroborate the Latin [33]; and (3) because the data are apparently

to *vannus*, inasmuch as the resemblance of a shovel to a winnowing fan is a close one. The divergence in gender is hardly a serious obstacle in the way of this assumption, since *vannus* was probably not originally feminine (its secondary diminutive *vallus* < **vann(e)los* 'winnowing fan' is feminine, having been made after the primitive acquired its new gender); see Leumann 171.A.3; *vatillum* is neuter perhaps after *ventilābrum* of the same meaning. If *vătillum* is taken, with Petersson, IF 24.254-5, Walde[2] s. v., and Muller, Altit. Wörterb. 522, as diminutive of a **u̯ăt-elo-* to *vās* < **u̯āts*, the transition from the meaning 'vessel' to 'shovel' proves difficult, and the short *ă* of *vătillum* must be explained as representing a different ablaut-grade from the *ā* of *vās* (: *vătax*, *vătius*), or as a shortening of quantity in a pretonic syllable (cf. *mōlēs mŏlēstus* and Leumann 77, where the assumption of shortening is disallowed; for *pūsus pŭsillus*, see Sommer[2] 130). Meillet, Dict. Étym. s. v., would explain *vatillum* (*ī* ?) as a trade-name adapted from that of a manufacturer of goblets; cf. Mart. 14.96.1 (*calicem Vatini*) and 10.3.4 *vātīnia* 'drinking-cups (manufactured by Vatinius)' (but cf. Friedländer's note ad locum). Such a transference might have been possible in the case of articles such as goblets, but shovels are perhaps too inartistic a commodity to warrant their bearing a manufacturer's name!

30. Only *scabillum* has by-forms in *-ellum* (see note 24), perhaps because in the meaning 'clapper (instrument composed of two boards moved by the foot)' this diminutive would naturally have been associated with *tabella(e)*, and the suffix *-ellum* thus acquired would then have been extended also to cases where the word (or its by-forms) meant 'bench'; cf. Cagnat-Chapot, Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine 2.211, and see Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités, figg. 5504 and 6142. For Republican authors the MSS tradition attests *scabillum* in Cato de agr. 10.4 ('bench') and Cicero Cael. 27.65 ('clapper'), *scabellum* in Varro LL 5.168 ('bench'); for the meaning 'clapper', cf. also Suet. Cal. 54, Arnob. 2.73, and August. de musica 3.

31. See Leumann 106. PIt. *n̥* is found only before *l*; for criticism of the theory that the group *-n̥l-* became *-enl-* > *-ell-*, and that *-ell-* became *-ill-* primarily through the influence of *-ll-*, see § 15 supra, where also other unsatisfactory views have been treated. Attempts to explain the suffixal *i* of these diminutives as due to vowel-assimilation (**sigellum *tigellum* becoming *sigillum tigillum*) or to analogies (*pugillus* after *pugil* 'boxer') must be judged unsuccessful; it is not at all likely that our six diminutives are analogical formations, since only one possesses the original 'phonetic' form, viz. *scabillum* (: 'phonetic' *scabellum*).

32. This is not a serious difficulty, since the Latin products of the PIE syllabic liquids and nasal all differ from the products of *r̥*, *l̥*, and *n̥* arising in primitive Italic by samprasāraṇa: PIE *r̥*, *l̥*, *n̥* gave Latin *-or-*, *-ol-*, *-en-*, PIt. *r̥*, *l̥*, *n̥* gave Latin *-er-*, *-il(l)-* or *-ul-*, and *-in(l)-*; see Leumann 33, 35, 102.2, and 106.

33. In Oscan and Umbrian PIt. *n̥* apparently gave *-en-*; see von Planta, Gram. d.

contradictory : *pastillus*, *pugillus*, *scabillum*, *sigillum*, *tigillum*, and *vatillum* are offset by *Sabellī*[34], *scabellum*[35], and *columella*[36] (to *columna*). *Sabellī* is a word borrowed from one of the Italic dialects, *scabellum* is an analogical by-form of the phonetic *scabillum*, and *columella* is perhaps not to be included with this group of words or is to be explained as an analogical formation.[37] The remaining six diminutives are obviously products of stems in postconsonantal *n* plus diminutive *-elo-* ; after syncope of the vowel in the second syllable, the *n* of these stems became syllabic *n̥* > *-in-*, and this product by assimilation to the following sound became *-illo-* :

**pástni-los*[38] > **pástn̥los* > **pastinlos* > *pastillus* ;
**tígn-elom* > **tígn̥lom* > **tiginlom* > *tigillum.*

LIST 4 : DIMINUTIVES IN *-īllo/ā-* FROM PRIMITIVES IN *-īno/ā-*

1 *anguīlla*[39] ' eel ', Plaut. ; to *anguīnus* (*-īno-*[40]) ' snake-like '.

osk.-umbr. Dialekte 1.323, and cf. Osc. **patensíns** perhaps < **patn(e)sins* ' aperirent ' (otherwise Muller, Altit. Wörterb. 323 s. v. *pătēịō*), and Umbr. *Padellar* ' *Patellae ' perh. < **Patn(o)lā-* (cf. Osc. **Patanaí** and see von Planta, op. cit. 1.265-6, 2.30 and 260). The derivation of Umbr. **Afillis** ' Amnius ' (?) from **afni-lo-* is highly uncertain (von Planta 1.302). Mention should be made here of *Sabellī* < **Safn(o)loi*, to Osc. **Safinim** ' Samnium '. *Sabellī* perhaps shows secondary *-lo-* in a rare non-diminutive function ; in any case the word has a dialectic *e* but a Latin *b*, not *f* (cf. *Sabīnī* < **Safnīnoi*, *Samnium* < **Sabniom* < **Safniom*). Cf. Schulze, Eigennamen 481 note 8 ; Sommer² 7 and 83 ; and Leumann 172.IX.H.3.a.ζ.

34. See note 33 end.

35. See notes 24, 30, and 31 end.

36. For *columella* see List 2.3 and note 6 supra. Brugmann's fallacious supposition, Gdr.² 2.1.367 footnote, that PIt. *n̥* became *-in-* only after *g*, was seemingly strengthened by *columella* and *scabellum* (*pastillus* and *vatillum* were not regarded by Brugmann as diminutives made on *n*-stems) ; for criticism see § 16 supra.

37. It is so explained by Leumann 106.

38. The primitive *pānis* is derived as follows : **pastnis* > **pasnis* > **paznis* > *pānis*.

39. Popular Latin *anguīla*, which Sommer (Hdb.² 205) is inclined to believe the original form ; *anguīlla* would then show expressive gemination (see Lindsay, ALL 8.442).

40. For the suffix *-īno/ā-* and the generic adjectives and nouns formed by it, see Brugmann, Gdr.² 2.1.275 and 665 ; for the diminutive meaning apparent in some Latin derivatives in *-īno/ā-*, see von Planta, ALL 12.370-1. Several etymologies have been proposed for *anguīlla*, for which see Hofmann s. v. *anguis*. Although it is possible that *anguīlla* may be a ' relational ' diminutive formed directly on *anguis* (see § 22 supra and note 4), I should propose rather that the word is a substantivized adjective (gender after *vipera* ?) which was formed on **anguīno-* plus secondary *-elo-* in a ' generic ' non-diminutive function ; cf. *arietīllum* (sc. *ālium*) ' leek ', which was

*armīllae*[41] ' bracelet ', Plaut. ; to **armīnus*[42] (*-īno-*) ' of the (upper) arm '.

*armīllum*[43] ' wine-vessel ', Lucil. ; to **armīnus* (?)[44] (*-īno-*) ' of the (upper) arm or shoulder '.

*arvīlla*[45] ' fattiness, fatty tissue ', Paul.-Fest. ; to *arvīna* (*-īnā-*).

5 *bovīllus*[46] ' oxen- ', Livy ; to *bovīnus*[47] (*-īno-*).

*catīllus*[48] ' small bowl or dish ', Cato ; to *catīnus* (*-īno-*).

formed on *arietīnus* ' belonging to a ram ' in the same way. For the relation between ' generic ' and diminutive meaning in the same formans, cf. OHG *kindisk* ' childlike, childish ' with Gr. παιδίσκος ' little boy ', Lat. *mariscus* (to *mās*, *măris*) ' masculine ' with Gr. ἀνθρωπίσκος ' little man ', and Gr. ἀνθρωπικός ' of a man, human ' with Lat. *homunciō* (< **hemon-k-iō*) ' little man ' ; cf. Brugmann, Gdr.$^{2}$ 2.1.502-3, and Brugmann-Thumb, Griechische Grammatik$^{4}$ (München 1913) 212. In Latin secondary *-elo/ā-* (*-k-elo/ā-*) was of course almost exclusively diminutive in function ; but cf. *masculus* (*-k-elo-*) ' masculine ', and see Friedrich, Demin. Bild. 70-1.

41. Attested only in the plural until Phaedrus (Ernout-Meillet s. v.). By-forms : *armellum* CGL 2.25.35, and *armellae* CGL 5.268.9. *Armīllae* was originally an adjective ; perhaps *spīrae* or *lāminae* is to be supplied (cf. Cagnat-Chapot, Manuel d'Archéol. Rom. 2.358).

42. For ancient derivations see Paul.-Fest. 25.7 M (armillas ex auro, quas viri militares ab imperatoribus donati gerunt, dictas esse existimant quod antiqui humeros cum brachiis armos vocabant) and Priscian, GL 3.462.33 (from *arma*). The feminine gender of *armīllae* remains unexplained if the word is taken as a ' relational ' diminutive made directly on *armus* (cf. Eng. *armlet* and Fr. *bracelet* ' armlet ' < OFr. *bracelet* ' little arm ' ; see Meyer-Lübke, REW$^{2}$ no. 1254). *Armīllae* was perhaps formed on **armīno-* plus secondary *-elo-* with ' generic ' function, and meant originally ' (circlet) belonging to, i. e. worn on the (upper) arm ' (cf. *bracchiāle*). Friedrich, Demin. Bild. 60, suggests that *armilla* (fem. sing. with short *ĭ*) may be a translation of Gr. βραχιόνιον ' bracelet '.

43. Cf. CGL 2.25.32 *armilium* σκεῦος.

44. Like *armīllae*, *armīllum* (sc. *vās*) may have been formed on **armīno-* plus secondary *-elo-* in a non-diminutive function, and thus have meant originally ' wine-vessel belonging to, i. e. carried on the shoulder ' ; one may suspect, however, that the extant Latin form has been reshaped from an unknown word in order to suggest *armus* (see Hofmann s. v. *armillum*). On the basis of the gloss in Paul.-Fest. 2.5 M armillum vas vinarium in sacris dictum (quod armo, id est humero, deportetur), this diminutive has been referred to Umbr. **arsmor** ' ritus ' ; see Muller, Altit. Wörterb. 43 s. v. *ăr[e]s-mos*, and Ernout-Meillet s. v. *armus*.

45. Cf. Paul.-Fest. 20.19 M arbilla arvina, id est pinguedo corporis. New formation : *arvīnula* Vulg.

46. The noun *bovilla* (CGL 2.31.2 βοοστάσια) stands for *bovilia* (Götz, *-illa* trad.), pl. of *bovīle* (= *būbīle*) ' cattle-stall '.

47. Both *bovīnus* and *bovīllus* are first attested in Livy, and then not until Late Latin ; they were secondary formations on the stem *bŏv-* and did not maintain themselves against *būbulus* ' of cattle, ox- '.

48. Neut. *catīllum* Petr., to *catīnum* (gender after *vās* ?), fem. *catīlla* CGL 3.324.

*crumīlla* ' little purse ', Plaut. ; to *crumīna* (*-īnā-* [49]).
*lupīllus* ' small lupine ', Plaut. ; to *lupīnus* (*-īno-*).
*ovīllus* ' of sheep, sheep- ', Cato ; to *ovīnus* [50] (*-īno-*).
10 *pistrīlla* ' small bakery ', Ter. ; to *pistrīna* (*-īnā-*).
*pulvīllus* [51] ' little cushion ', Hor. ; to *pulvīnus* (*-īno-*).
*rēgīllus* [52] ' regal ', Plaut. ; to *rēgīna* [53] (*-īnā-*) ' queen '.
*salīllum* ' (little) salt-cellar ', Plaut. [54] ; to *salīnum* (*-īno-*).
*suīllus* ' of swine, swine- ', Plaut. ; to *suīnus* [55] (*-īno-*).
15 *vīllum* ' sup of wine ', Ter. ; to *vīnum* (*-īno-*).

For the sake of convenience we may include here also :
*catēlla* [56] ' small chain ', Cato (?) or Caecil. ; to *catēna* (*-ēnā-*).
*hīllae* ' smaller intestines ', Laber. ; to *hīra* (*-īrā-*) ' empty gut '.

70 ; cf. also Diomedes, GL 1.326.7 (antiqui) descendebant enim ad tertiam usque formam, tam quam... catinus catinulus catellulus (read *catīllulus* ?). Derivative : *catīllō -ōnis* ' trencherman ', Lucil. and Paul.-Fest. New formation : *catīnulus* Varro ap. Charis.

49. The primitive is also spelled *crumēna* (< Gr. γρῦμε(ί)α, -αία ' purse ' ? ; see Hofmann s. v. *crumīna*).

50. *Ovīnus* is not attested until Seren. Sammon.

51. New formation : *pulvīnulus* ' bed of earth ', Colum.

52. The masculine occurs in the proper name *Rēgīllus* ; the feminine is found in Plaut. Epid. 223 (quid erat induta ? an regillam induculam an mendiculam ?), and as a technical term (*rēgīlla tūnica* or *vestis*) in Varro ap. Non. 539.9 M and Paul.-Fest. 286.33 M. The masculine form occurring in CGL 2.256.18 (*regillus* βασιλικός) is to be considered an extension of this originally feminine adjective, while *rēgīllus* of CGL 2.462.35 (*regillus* υἱὸς βασιλέως) is a late diminutive to *rēgulus -ī* ' princeling ' (cf. Livy 42.24.10 for *rēgulus* in the meaning ' king's son ') ; cf. also CGL 4.385.50 and 5.609.18 *regillus regulus*.

53. *Rēgīna*, an old *ī*-stem (< **rēgī-nā* ; cf. Skr. *rājñī* ' queen ', masc. stem *rājñ-*), is probably to be assigned as the primitive, since the adjective was used primarily in connection with women's clothing (see note 52). It is hardly likely that *rēgīllus* was made directly on *regō* (Ernout-Meillet s. v. *regō* ; cf. only 8.5 *miscellus*, dubiously to *misceō*) or on *rēgius* (Non. 539.10 M), since **rēgiolus*, not *rēgillus*, would then be expected, and since formations such as 8.6 *novellus* (to *novus*) and 9.13 *putillus* (to *putus*) were very rare.

54. Trin. 492 salillum animai... quom extemplo emisimus (*satillum* cod. A, *scintillulam* coni. Fleckeisen).

55. *Suīnus* is attested only in Varro RR 2.4.8 (*-ina* cod. e, *-illa* edd.), Theod. Prisc. 4.1 *sevum suinum*, and CGL 4.179.17 *suinum porcinum*.

56. *Catellus* (*ē* ?) of Plaut. Curc. 691 may be a pun on *catellus* ' (little) dog ' (delicatum te hodie faciam, cum catello ut accubes, ferreo ego dicam), or perhaps the meaning ' chain ' was momentarily extended to *catellus* from *catulus*, which, like *canis*, sometimes had this meaning (see Lucil. ap. Non. 36.26 M). New formation on *catēna* : *catēnula* Paul. Nolan.

*stīlla* 'drop', Cic.; perh. to *stīria*[57] (*-īriā-*) 'frozen drop, icicle'.

§ **28**. For the regular phonetic development of the old words in this group we may assume syncope in the third syllable and subsequent assimilation of *-īnl-* to *-īll-*:

**catīn-elos > *catīnlos > catīllus*;
**suīn-elos > *suīnlos > suīllus.*

*Hīllae*, an old 'relational' diminutive, developed from **hīr-elai* with syncope in the second syllable and assimilation of *-īrl-* to *-īll-*:

**hīr-elai > *hīrlai > hīllae.*

The true diminutives of this group are perhaps *arvīlla*, *catīllus*, *crumīlla*, *lupīllus*, *pistrīlla*, *pulvīllus*, *salīllum*, *vīllum*, *hīllae*, and *catēlla*. Of these *arvīlla*, *crumīlla*, *salīllum*, and *vīllum* are apparently nonce-words; the first two were modeled perhaps after *armīllae* (which was doubtless felt to be a diminutive) or after *pistrīlla* (attested only for Terence but perhaps common in the popular speech), while *salīllum* and *vīllum* were made perhaps after the analogy of *catīllus* (*-um*). *Anguīlla*, *armīllae*, and *armīllum* were doubtless felt by speakers of Latin to be true diminutives of *anguis* and *armus*; in notes to these words[58] it has been suggested, however, that they owed the ending *-īllo/ā-* to the combination of *-īno/ā-* and non-diminutive *-elo/ā-*[59], in which *-elo/ā-*, like *-īno/ā-*, had 'generic' or general adjectival function ('of or belonging to'). A similar explanation may be proposed with greater certainty for the adjectives *bovīllus*, *ovīllus*, and *suīllus*. Since the primitives *bovīnus*[60], *ovīnus*, and *suīnus* were disused[61], the forms in *-īllo-*, a combination of two adjectival suffixes, were made to continue the meanings 'ox-', 'sheep-', and 'swine-'. In the same way *rēgīna* acquired the adjective *rēgīlla* (later extended

57. *Stilla*, according to Meillet s. v., shows expressive gemination and is to be referred to Gr. στίλη 'bit, mite'. This derivation is perhaps favored by the discrepancy in the meanings '(viscous) drop' (*stīlla*) and 'icicle' (*stīria*); cf. Suet. frg. 319.27 Roth: gutta imbrium est, stilla olei vel aceti.

58. See notes 40, 41, 42 and 44.

59. Cf. the reverse combination in OHG *-līn* (*kindilin*) = NHG *-lein* (*Kindlein*) < *-lo-* + *-īno-*.

60. Both *bovīnus* and *bovīllus* were probably analogical formations (after *suīnus suīllus*), since *būbulus* was the usual word for 'of cattle, ox-'.

61. See notes 47, 50 and 55.

to *rēgīllus*), which perhaps originally had a technical meaning [62] but afterwards came to mean, like *rēgius*, ‘ queenly, regal ’.

62. Cf. Paul.-Fest. 286.33 M regillis tunicis, albis, et reticulis luteis utrisque <re>ctis, textis susum versum a stantibus, pridie nuptiarum diem virgines indutae cubitum ibant ominis causa ; ut etiam in togis virilibus dandis observari solet. For the generalized meaning ‘ queenly, regal ’, see Plaut. Epid. 223 quoted above in note 52.

## VI. REPUBLICAN DIMINUTIVES IN *-ELLO/Ā-* AND *-ILLO/Ā-* FROM PRIMITIVES IN *-LO/Ā-*

§ 29. This chapter deals with the diminutives (1) in *-illo/ā-* from primitives with stems in *-lo/ā-* : type *axilla*, to *āla*, stem **ag-slā-* ; (2) in *-ello/ā-* from primitives with stems in *-elo/ā-* and *-lo/ā-* (extant forms ending in *-ulo/ā-*, and *-ulo/ā-* with anaptyctic *u*) : types *porcellus*, to *porculus*, stem **porcelo-*, and *fābella*, to *fābula*, stem **fāblā-* ; (3) in *-illo/ā-* from primitives with stems in *-elo/ā-* (extant forms ending in *-ulo/ā-*) : type *mamilla*, to *mammula*, stem **mammelā-* ; and (4) in *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* made on other stems (no antecedent forms in *-ulo/ā-* extant) : types *novellus*, to *novus*, stem **novo-*, and *mellilla*, to *mel*, stem **mell-*.

### List 5 : Diminutives in *-illo/ā-* from primitives in *-lo/ā-*

1 *auxilla* 'small pot', Paul.-Fest.[1] ; to *aulla* (stem **auk-slā-*[2]).
*axilla*[3] 'small wing, armpit', Varro[4] ; to *āla* (stem **ag-slā-*[5]).

1. Paul.-Fest. 24.17 M *auxilla olla parvula.* New formation on *aulla* (*ōlla*) : *aullula* (*ōllula*) Plaut. or Varro.

2. See Hofmann s. v. *aulla.* The development of the primitive was : **aukslā* > **auslā* > **auzlā* > *aulla* ; for the writing *-ll-* see Sommer[2] 251 Anm.

3. Cf. the metathetic forms *ascilla* Veget. and *ascella* Itala (*ascellus* Ps. Diosc., *astella* Ps. Soran., *arcella locus sub brachia* CGL 5.169.8), in which *x* (= *-cs-*) of *axilla* became *-sc-*. This change was assisted inasmuch as popular etymology referred *axilla* to *cillō -ere* 'move' (for the authenticity of this verb, see Hofmann s. v.) ; cf. Isid. Orig. 11.1.65 (alas) quidam ascillas vocant quod ex his brachia cilluntur id est moventur. Cf. further the by-form *auxilla* : CGL 5.346.41 *a[u]xillae alae minores* ; and the double formation *ascellula* : CGL 5.169.9 *ascellulae pinnae vel squamae.*

4. For the proper name *Axilla* see Schulze, Eigennamen 420 ; the word was very old as a cognomen of the *gens Servilia* (cf. C. Servilius Axilla, *tribunus militum* in 419 B. C.).

5. The development of the primitive was : **akslā* > **aslā* > **azlā* > *āla* with compensatory lengthening ; see Sommer[2] 251.

*bacillum*[6] 'small staff', Afran. (whence *imbēcillus*[7] 'weak', Accius); to *baculum* (stem **baklo-*[8]).

*capillus* 'hair', Plaut.; perh. from **kapl-elo-s*, to OE *hafola*[9] 'head'.

5 *cavilla*[10] 'jeering, sarcasm', Plaut.; perh. from **kalu̯-lolā*, to *calvor*[11] 'intrigue, deceive'.

*favilla*[12] 'glowing ashes', Ter.; perh. from PIE **dhogᵘh-lolā* >

6. By-forms: *bacillus* Isid. and *bacellus* Hieron.

7. By-form: *imbēcillis* (after *dēbilis*) Cic.

8. *Baculum* is to be derived with Hofmann s. v. from **bak-tlom* (cf. Gr. βάκτρον) > **bakklom* > **baklom* > **bakolom* (with anaptyctic ŏ). The simpler derivation of Baehrens, Sprach. Komment. z. vulgärl. App. Probi 17, from **bak-elom* (with primary *-elo-*) is invalidated by *imbēcillus*, where *-bēc-* stands for *-bĕcc-* weakened from *-băcc-*: **en-bak-tl-elos* > **imbakkḷlos* > **imbakkillos* > **imbeccillos* > *imbēcillus* (*-ē-* Lucr. and Hor., *-ĕ-* Prudent.; cf. Sommer[2] 203-4). By the same token, **bak-tl-elom* > **bakkllom* was not simplified to **bakḷlom* in the primitive Italic period, but became Latin **baccillom* and then *băcillum* (by the *mamilla*-law, which did not entail compensatory lengthening).

9. So Reichelt, KZ 46.336; for further literature on *capillus* see Hofmann s. v. OE *hafola* is from PIE **qap-elo-* (beside PIE **qap-ut-*), a stem which is not found in Italic except perhaps in *capillus*. According to an unpublished etymology of R. G. Kent, *capillus* is a compound and is to be derived from **kapo-pil-elo-s* '(small) head-hair' > **kappillos* > *capillus* (by the *mamilla*-law); one might object that this would necessitate a double syncope and that a **kapo-* (: **kap-ut-*) cannot be extracted from *anceps* (probably from **amb-kapot-s*; Leumann 75 [*i* und *o* vor zwei Konsonanten]) or from *prīnceps* (< **prīzmo-kaps*, to *capiō*; Leumann 78.1. d). It is conceivable that *capillus* is a 'relational' diminutive formed on a supposed stem **cap-* or that the word has been reshaped from an unknown form in order to suggest *caput* (cf. *tranquillus*, to *-quies*); such a popular association is apparent in Plaut. Epid. 623 *ab ung<uic>ulo ad capillum summum*.

10. By-forms: *cavillum* Paul.-Fest. (neut. after *iūrgium*?), *cavillus* Apul. (masc. after *iocus*?); cf. also Plaut. Truc. 680 *cavillibus* (comic for *caulibus*; cf. Truc. 683 *caullator* 'jester'), and CGL 2.98.34 *cabillem* διδασκαλίαν (contaminated).

11. Reference of *cavilla* to *calvor* was first proposed by Priscian, GL 2.431.21. **Kalu̯-lola* > **kalu̯lla* (not **kalulola*, because of **kalu̯or*) > **kalvillā* > *cavilla* (with dissimilatory loss of *l*; see Sommer[2] 212). The suffix *-lola* is perhaps not double diminutive *-(e)lo/a-* but doubled primary (verbal) *-(e)lo/a-* (for primary *-lo/ā-* without connecting vowel, cf. *sella* < **sed-lā* and *iugulum* 'collar-bone', where *u* before *l* is to be considered anaptyctic in view of Gr. ζεύγλη). Assumption of a doubled primary *-lo/a-* must remain uncertain because of the paucity of the evidence (besides *cavilla*, cf. *favilla* and *scintilla*); is it possible that the verbal abstracts in *-ēla* (*querela suadela*) show doubled primary *-ĕlā-* and that original **ĕlla-* became *-ēlā-* in order to distinguish the verbal suffix from the 'double' diminutive suffix in *-ĕllo/a-*?? See, however, Leumann 172.IV.C on this debated suffix.

12. Cf. CIL 5.3143 FAVIIIA (ȷ- because of contamination with diminutives from stems in *-īno-*?).

early Latin **fovillā,* to *foveō* from PIE **dhog$^{u}$h-ei̯ō* ‘warm’. [13]
*maxilla* ‘jawbone’, Cic.; to *māla* (stem **mag-slā-* ? [14]).
*pauxillus* [15] ‘little’, Plaut.; perh. to *paul(l)us* (stem **pauk-slo-* [16]), a derivative of *paucus*.
*paxillus* ‘small stake, peg’, Varro; to *pālus* (stem **pag-slo-* [17]).
10 *pĭstillum* [18] ‘pestle’, Plaut.; to *pīlum* (stem **pĭst-lo-* [19]).
*pōcillum* ‘small cup’, Cato; to *pōculum* (stem **pō-klo-* [20]).
*pŭsillus* ‘very small’, Plaut.; to *pŭllus* (stem **pŭt-slo-* [21]) ‘young of an animal’.

13. So Walde$^2$ s. v. *favilla*, after Thurneysen, KZ 28.159. The PIE form perhaps shows, like **kalu̯-lolā* > *cavilla*, doubled primary *-lo/ā-*; early Latin **fovillā* became **fovilla* > *favilla* (cf. **lovāre* > *lavāre* and see Sommer$^2$ 109-10). *Favilla* never acquired a **favillula*, as *cavilla* did *cavillula* (Plaut.).

14. To be referred perhaps to Popular Latin *magulum* ‘mouth’ (Schol. Juv. 2.16); but cf. Sommer$^2$ 231 (*māla* < **smak-s-lā-*, to Lith. *smak-rà* ‘chin’). *Maxilla* is dubiously derived by Thurneysen, IF 21.177, from **mand-slelā* (to *mandō* ‘chew’) becoming **mansillā* and then *maxilla* by analogy to *axilla*; for criticism see Sommer, Krit. Erläut. 84.

15. Var. spelling *pausillus* (analogy to *pusillus* ? see Sommer$^2$ 248). Double formation: *pauxillulus* Plaut. (*pausillulam* Plaut. Stich. 163 cod. A). Because of the dissimilarity of *paul(l)us* and its diminutive *pauxillus*, the former early acquired the new formation *paul(l)ulus* (Plaut.).

16. See Walde$^2$ s. v. *paullus*. The development of the primitive was: **pauk-slo-s* > **pauslos* > **pauẓlos* > *paul(l)us*; for the original writing with *-ll-* see Sommer$^2$ 251 Anm.

17. To *pangō* (= **pag-* with nasal infix); see Walde$^2$ s. v. *pālus*.

18. Masc. *pistillus* is more frequent (gender after *calx* ‘mortar’ ?); *pistillum* Plaut. Aul. 95 (*-ellum* cod. B) and Non. 221.7 M.

19. To *pĭstus*, perf. pass. part. of *pīnsō* ‘pound’ (*-n-* is a nasal infix belonging only to the present system; short *ĭ* of *pĭstus* is attested by Prov. *pestar* ‘pĭstāre’ and OFr. *pestur* ‘pĭstor’: see Meyer-Lübke, REW$^2$ nos. 6536 and 6537). For the derivation of *pīlum* from **pist-lo-*, see Leumann 144.e.α end; cf. Sommer$^2$ 259 (and Krit. Erläut. 23), who would derive the word from **pīns-tlom* (to *pīnsō*). Sommer's form would have become **pīsculum*, and *pīstillum* would then necessarily show *-ī-*. An objection to Leumann's form is that it is made on the participial rather than the present stem; **pist-lom* did not become **pisculum*, because *-t-* was not suffixal, i. e., was maintained by association with **pistoś*.

20. *Pōclum* is read by Lindsay for Plaut. Asin. 771 (*poda* codd., *d* misread for *cl* in the archetype), Curc. 359, and Pers. 775$^a$. *Pōculum* (with anaptyctic *u*) is from **pōklom* < PIE **pō-tlom* (cf. Skr. *pā-tram* ‘cup’).

21. *Pŭsillus* is not from *pūsus* ‘little boy’ (*pūsillus* would be expected!). The group *-tsl-* had a different development from that of *-ksl-* (cf. *āla* with compensatory lengthening from **akslā*): **pŭt-slo-s* (to Skr. *put-ráḥ* ‘son’) > **pusslos* > with assimilation *pŭllus* (*-ŭ-* attested by Romance derivatives: see Meyer-Lübke, REW$^2$ no. 6828); the diminutive developed differently: **pŭt-sl-elo-s* > **pŭssḷlos* > **pŭssillos*

*quasillus* [22] '(small) wool-basket, fruit hamper', Cato; to *quallus* [23] (stem **quat-slo-* ? [24]).

*scintilla* 'spark', Plaut.; perh. from **sqi-n-t-lolā*. [25]

*singillātim* [26] 'one by one, singly', Plaut.; to *singulus* (stem **sin-glo-* [27] ?).

*taxillus* 'small die', Pompon.; to *tālus* (stem **tag-slo-* ?? [28]) 'ankle-bone, knuckle-bone, die'.

*tōnsillae* [29] 'tonsils', Cic.; to *tōlēs* (stem **tons-li-* [30]) 'goitre'.

> *pūsillus* (assimilation was precluded at the second stage because of the vocalic nature of *ḷ*). See Sommer² 251-2 (and Krit. Erläut. 86-7), and Leumann 144.e.α end; for other members of this group see Walde² s. vv. *pūsus* and *pūtus*.

22. Original gender uncertain; Cato Agr. 133 used the diminutive in the masculine (*eum quasillum . . . impleto*), and Agr. 11 the primitive in the neuter (*quala sataria vel alveos* XL); masc. *quasillus* was perhaps influenced by *calathus* (cf. Paul.-Fest. 47.6 M), and neut. *quasillum* (Cic.) by *canistrum* or *cōlum* 'strainer'.

23. *Quallus* has MS authority in Verg. Georg. 2.241 (*qualus* edd.), but *qualus* or *qualum* is the usual spelling found in MSS (= *quā-*; the vowel-length, metrically assured, shows original gemination of *l*).

24. Apparently to *quatiō*; see Leumann 144.e.α. According to Sommer² 252 Anm. and Walde² s. v. *quālum* the stem is **quas-s-lo-*. In either instance, the development of *quăsillus* and *quăllus* was parallel to that of *pŭsillus* and *pŭllus* (see note 21).

25. Only with hesitation is *scintilla* to be derived from **sqi-n-t-lolā*, to root **(s)qāit-* 'bright, clear' in ON *heid* 'unclouded sky' (cf. NHG *heiter* 'clear') and probably in Lat. *caelum* (< **cait-[s]lom*; see Hofmann s. v.). The suffix *-lolā* perhaps represents doubled primary *-lo/ā-* (cf. *cavilla* and *favilla* above), although *scintilla* was doubtless felt to be a diminutive (cf. the 'double' formation *scintillula* Cic.). Niedermann, IF 26.58-9, sought to show that both *scintilla* and Gr. σπινθήρ were borrowed from a non-Indo-European Mediterranean language; in this case *scintilla* would have acquired its ending by analogy perhaps to *favilla*.

26. A denominative adverb (to *singulus* or **singillo/ā-*, not **singillō -āre*) like *paulātim* (to *paulum*); see Leumann 215.c.

27. According to Leumann 171.B.2.b, *singulus* is from **senglos* dissimilated from **sem-gnos* 'born one (apiece)' (= Goth. *ainakls* 'alone' < PIE **oino-gnos*). Accordingly, **singillo-* may be derived from **sengl-elo-* (adjectival *-elo-*) > **séngḷlo-* > **sin-gillo-*. For another derivation of *singulus* see Walde² s. v.

28. *Taxillus* may best be reckoned as an analogical formation after *maxilla* or *paxillus*, since the derivation of *tālus* is highly uncertain (see Walde² s. v.; hardly with Muller, Altit. Wörterb. 469 s. v. *ta[g]ẓlos*, to *tangō*, with an original meaning '*hollow of the knee').

29. Var. MSS reading *tōsillae*; cf. *mōstellum* (List 1.26).

30. To *tēnsus* (or **tēnsiō* = *tendō*); see Sommer² 251. *Tōlēs* is from **tons-lēs* > **toẓlēs* > *tōlēs*; *tōnsillae* is from **tons-li-lai* > **tónsḷlai* > *tō(n)sillae* (*-ns-* was maintained at the second stage because of the vocalic nature of *ḷ*). Cf. Paul.-Fest. 357.9 M.

*vexillum* [31] ‘military banner’, Plaut.; to *vēlum* (stem **u̯eg-slo-* [32]) ‘cloth’.

§ 30. For the development of the words in this group, most of which may be reckoned as phonetic, we may assume syncope in the second syllable, the existence of syllabic *l̥* arising by samprasāraṇa, and the subsequent development of *-l̥lo/ā-* to *-illo/ā-*. The postulation of *l̥* in the second stage of development is justified by the fact that the historical forms of some of these diminutives have retained sounds which were lost (or simplified) in the corresponding primitives; thus, the *x* of *axilla* can be accounted for only on the assumption that the group *-ks-* was maintained in a stage **aksl̥lā* (< **akslelā*) by the vocalic nature of *l̥*, whereas the same group was lost in *āla* (< **akslā* [33]) before consonantal *l*. Similarly, for the diminutives *auxilla*, *pauxillus*, *paxillus*, and *vexillum* the intermediate stages **auksl̥lā*, **pauksl̥los*, **paksl̥los*; and **u̯eksl̥lom* may be assumed. By the same token we may infer that samprasāraṇa was present in the regular phonetic development of *bacillum*, *pistillum*, *pōcillum*, *pusillus*, *quasillus*, and *tōnsillae*; otherwise we should have (granting the stems of the primitives to have been those indicated above): **bacululum*, **pīlulum*, **pōcululum*, **pullulus* [34], **quallulus*, and **tōlulae*. As for the phonetic product of PIt. *l̥* arising by samprasāraṇa, we may conclude from the examples before us that this sound before consonantal *l* regularly gave Latin *-il(l)-*. [35] The following reconstructions are therefore to be posited ·

**auk-sl-elā* > **aúksl̥lā* > **auksillā* > *auxilla*;
**pō-kl-elom* > **pṓkl̥lom* > *pōcillum*;
**put-sl-elos* > **pússl̥los* > **pussíllos* > *pusillus*.

31. *Vixillum* is attested by some MSS for Plaut. Trin. 888 (cf. also CIL 6.1377), *iuxillum* ibid. cod. B; cf. also CIL 3.79 VEXILLVS (masc. after *pannus* ‘cloth’?).

32. See Walde$^2$ s. v. *vēlum* (to root **u̯eg-* ‘weave’).

33. See note 5.

34. *Pullulus* ‘chick’ (Apul.) was a new formation on *pullus* ‘chicken’.

35. Cf. a different development of PIt. *ḷ* in *facillimus* < **fakellemos* < **fakḷsemos* < **fakli-semos* (*-il-* in *facillimus* because of *facilis*? but see Leumann 210.b and 102), and in *facultās* < **fakoltās* < **fakeltās* < **fakḷtās* < **fakli-tāt-s* (to *facilis* < **fak-li-*; or *facultās* was formed upon *facul* ‘easily’ < **fakḷ* < **fakli*). The evidence of Oscan and Umbrian is too scanty to enable one to conclude that the product of *ḷ* was *el* before *l* in these dialects; cf. Osc. **Kupelternum** < **Kuploterno-* (?) and the Oscan town-name *Abella* < **ablonā* ‘*apple-raising’ (so Hofmann s. v.). In Osc. **Mítl** ‘*Mitulus’ and **Fíml** ‘*Fimulus’ the writing *l* may represent *el* (not *ḷ*), in view of Osc. *famel* ‘famulus’ and Umbr. **katel** ‘catulus’. See von Planta, Gram. d. osk.-umbr. Dialekte 1.323-4.

The derivation of *capillus*, *cavilla*, *favilla*, and *scintilla* is highly uncertain.[36] *Maxilla*, *paxillus*, *taxillus*, and perhaps also *axilla*[37], may have been analogically formed after the model of *auxilla* and *pauxillus*.[38] The assumption of analogical origin also for *vexillum* is possible, since this word never meant 'small piece of cloth' and seems to have been a 'relational' diminutive made specially with the meaning 'flag'.

## List 6: Diminutives in *-ello/ā-* from primitives in *-elo/ā-* and *-lo/ā-* (extant forms ending in *-ulo/ā-*)

The figure I before *-elo/ā-* indicates the primary[39] suffix, and II the secondary or diminutive suffix.

1 *agnellus*[40] 'little lamb', Plaut.; to *agnulus* (II *-elo-*[41]), *agnus*.
*ānellus*[42] 'little ring', Plaut.; to *ānulus* (II *-elo-*), *ānus*.
*angellus* 'small angle or corner', Lucr.; to *angulus* (stem **angulo-*[43]).
*arcella* 'small chest, square landmark[44]', Paul.-Fest.; to *arcula* (II *-elā-*), *arca*.

36. See notes 9, 11, 13, and 25.

37. *Axilla* is very rare until Late Latin, and both its meanings were represented in the primitive *āla* (for the meaning 'arm-pit' in *āla*, cf. its derivative *ālipilus*).

38. See notes 14 and 28.

39. A primary suffix is one which forms derivatives of radicals or of verbal stems (e. g. *trem-ulus*, *teg-ulum*), a secondary is one which forms derivatives of nominal stems (e. g. *flōs-culus*, *paul-ulum*, and *mās-culus*). In Latin secondary *-elo/ā-* was almost exclusively diminutive in function.

40. Fem. *agnella* Ennod., to *agna*.

41. **Agn-elos* would phonetically have become **agillus* (see List 3). *Agnulus* was a Late Latin formation on *agnus*; *agnellus* (Plaut. Asin. 667 and Late Latin; cf. Fr. *agneau*) owed its ending to *vitellus*. For *avillus* (to *ovis* rather than to *agnus*) see List 9.2.

42. Var. MSS reading *annellus*.

43. So Hofmann s. v. *angulus*, in view of Skr. *angu-liḥ* 'finger' and Gr. ἀγκύλος 'bent'. Umbr. **anglome** 'ad angulum' is a syncopated form and does not justify positing a stem **anglo-* for Latin *angulus*, as is proposed by von Planta, Gram. d. osk.-umbr. Dialekte 1.554 and 2.25, and Leumann 151.d. The suffix is here secondary; cf. *ancus* 'qui aduncum brachium habet' (Paul.-Fest. 19.15 M), 'elbow' in Romance languages (Meyer-Lübke, REW² no. 446), and see Hofmann s. v.

44. *Arca* was also used in this technical sense; see W. van der Goes, Rei Agrariae Auctores (Amsterdam 1674) 119.

5 *aucella*[45] ' little bird ', Varro ; to *avicula* (II *-elā-*[46]), *avis*.

*blandicella -ōrum*[47] ' soft words ', Paul.-Fest. ; to **blandiculus -ulē* Apul. (II *-elo-*), *blandus*.

*catellus*[48] ' young of an animal, esp. a puppy ', Plaut. ; to *catulus* (II *-elo-*[49]).

*cistella* ' small chest or box ', Plaut.[50] ; to *cistula* (II *-elā-*), *cista*.

*cucumella* ' (small) kettle ', Alfenus (cos. 39 B. C.)[51] ; to *cucumula* (II *-elā-*), *cucuma*.

10 *culcitella*[52] ' (small) mattress ', Plaut. ; to *culcitula* (II *-elā-*), *culcita*.

*fābella* ' brief narrative, tale ', Cic. ; to *fābula* (stem **fā-blā-*[53]).

*helvella*[54] ' small potherb ', Cic. ; perh. to *helvolus* (II *-elo-*) ' yellowish ', and *helvus* ' light bay '.

45. *Aucella*, which according to Varro LL 8.79 was disused, is next attested in Apicius ; cf. AVCVLA CIL 6.33706, whence the back-formation *auca* ' goose ' (Avian.). Masc. *aucellus* CGL 2.25.42. New formation : *avicella* Mart. Brac., to *avis* or **avica* > *auca*.

46. The stem is strictly *-k-elā-* ; for the distribution of *-ulo/ā-* and *-culo/ā-* in historical Latin, see § 2 note 2, and Priscian, GL 2.102.20.

47. Paul.-Fest. 35.9 M blandicella verba blanda per diminutionem sunt dicta (= CGL 5.520.25 ; both glosses refer to a lost passage in Plautus ?). *Blandicella* is an early example of *-kello/ā-* attaching to an *o*-stem and may have been patterned after *molli-cellus* (or vice versa ?).

48. Fem. *catella* Petron., to *catula*.

49. Cf. Umbr. **katel** (< **katel(o)s* ; the gen. **katles** is syncopated) and MHG *katele* ' goat ' ; these words, together with *catulus*, probably have non-diminutive *-elo-*. Attempts to relate *catulus* to *canis* (Varro LL 9.74) or to *cattus* ' (wild) cat ' (first found in Pallad.) have been unsuccessful ; see Hofmann s. v. *catulus*.

50. For the emotional coloring of this and like diminutives in Plautus, see F. Conrad, Glotta 19.136 and 140-1 (1931).

51. Alfenus ap. Digest. 8.5.17.1. Otherwise the attestations are very late : cf. *cocumella* Papy. Marini 80.2.11 (564 A. D.), with *-o-* because of analogy to *coquō* ' boil water ' ; and *cucumellum* Optat. (neut. perhaps after *lābellum* ' bathing-tub ' ; for *cucuma* with this meaning see Mart. 10.79.4). *Cucumula* is first attested in Petronius.

52. Perhaps the reading of Plaut. Most. 895 : *culcitullam* codd., *-ulam* Leo and Lindsay, *-ellam* some other edd.

53. For the suffix *-blo/ā-* < PIE *-dhlo/ā-*, see Leumann 172.V.C.

54. Var. MSS reading *elvella*. **Heluella* was originally perhaps a neut. pl. diminutive made on a supposed stem **helu-* (to *helus -eris* = [*h*]*olus* ' vegetables, cabbage ') ; cf. Paul.-Fest. 103.7 M *helvela* (*-ella* Lind.) *olera minuta*. When *helus* passed out of currency, **heluella* was referred to the color-adjectives *helvus* and *helv(e)olus* and became *helvella* (if understood as a fem. sing. adj. it might have been associated with *brassica* ' cabbage ') ; for the phonetic change of *-lu-* to *-lv-*, cf. *mīluos* > *mīlvus*.

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*locellus* ‘ compartment, casket ’, Caes. ; to *loculus* (II *-elo-*) ‘ coffin, coffer ’, *locus* ‘ place ’.
*matella*[55] ‘ pot ’, Plaut. ; to *matula* (II *-elā-* ?[56]).
*mollicellus* ‘ soft ’, Catul. ; to *molliculus* (II *-elo-*[57]), *mollis*.
*ocellus* ‘ (little) eye ’, Plaut. ; to *oculus* (I *-elo-*[58]).
*popellus* ‘ mob ’, Hor. ; to *populus* (stem **poplo-*[59]).
*porcella* ‘ young sow ’, Plaut. ; to *porcula* (II *-elā-*), *porca*.
*porcellus* ‘ porker ’, Varro ; to *porculus* (II *-elo-*[60]), *porcus*.
*rūsticellus*[61] ‘ (somewhat) rustic or countrified ’, Varro ; to *rūsticulus* (II *-elo-*), *rūsticus*.
*sitella* ‘ urn used in drawing lots ’, Plaut.[62] ; to *situla* (I *-elā-* ?)[63] ‘ bucket ’.
*sportella* ‘ small basket ’, Cic. ; to *sportula* (II *-elā-*), *sporta*.
*tabella* ‘ small board, writing-tablet ’, Plaut. ; to *tabula* (stem **tablā-*[64]).
*vitellus*[65] ‘ young bull-calf ’, Plaut. ; to *vitulus* (II *-elo-* ?[66]).

55. Var. MSS reading *matēla* (contamination with *mantēle* ‘ napkin ’ ? or influence of *cubīle*, since *matella* meant also ‘ chamber-pot ’). Derivative : *matelliō -ōnis* masc. ‘ pot ’ ; see Leumann 176.II.A.2.

56. No satisfactory etymology has yet been proposed for *matula* : see Walde² s. v. and Muller, Altit. Wörterb. 258 s. v. *măt(ĕ)lā*.

57. Strictly *-k-elo-* ; see note 47.

58. To root **oqᵘ-* ‘ see ’ ; see Walde² s. v. *oculus*. Nonce-formation : *ocellulus* Diom.

59. So Leumann 81.1 in view of (*pilumnoe*) *poploe* Fest. and *poplicus* ‘ publicus ’ ; otherwise Walde² s. v. *populus*.

60. Cf. Lith. *parszẽlis* ‘ porculus ’ and OHG *farheli* (= NHG *Ferkel*). *Porcellus* has the late derivative *porcelliō -ōnis* masc. ‘ sowbug, woodlouse ’ ; see Walde² s. v.

61. Cf. the proper name *Rūsticilla*. In proper names the suffix *-illo/ā-* was far commoner than *-ello/ā-* ; cf. *Drūsilla*, *Flaccilla*, etc.

62. Cf. Livy 25.3.16 sitella lata est ut sortirentur, and see Weissenborn's note ad loc.

63. See Walde² s. v. *sīnum* ‘ drinking-bowl ’. Muller, Altit. Wörterb. 429 s. v. *sīno-s*, suggests that *-tula* in *situla* and *matula* (op. cit. 258) represents PIE *-tlā-* (but *-tlā-* regularly gave *-culā-* !).

64. See Walde² s. v. *tabula*.

65. Cf. *vitellus* ‘ yolk of an egg ’ Cic., *-um* Varro (cf. CGL 3.579.33 *vitellus id est meiolus* [= *mediolus*] *ovi*). Does the explanation of this meaning of *vitellus* lie in a notion of folklore, or was *vitellus* ‘ calf ’ (*-ī-* attested metrically by Hor. Sat. 2.4.14 for the meaning ‘ yolk ’) taken for a diminutive of *vīta* and given the new meaning ‘ *bit of life > yolk ’ ? The close association by countrymen of *vitellus* ‘ calf ’ and *ovis* ‘ sheep ’, together with the latter's chance similarity to *ōvum* ‘ egg ’, may have been the starting-point of this curious transference of meaning.

66. Cf. Osc. **Víteliú** ‘ Italia ’ ; Umbr. **vitluf** ‘ vitulōs ’ is syncopated. *Vitulus* may

§ 31. In some of these diminutives the suffix *-ello/ā-* may be termed 'double', as, for example, in *agnellus*, *ānellus*, *arcella*, and *aucella*, which were made on the diminutives *agnulus*, *ānulus*, *arcula*, and *avicula*; in others the same suffix is 'single', as, for example, in *angellus*, *catellus*, and *fābella*, which were made on the non-diminutive primitives *angulus*, *catulus*, and *fābula*. To a speaker of Latin, however, the 'double' suffix was perhaps indistinguishable from the 'single' because of the morphological similarity of both; thus, *ānellus* was perhaps felt to stand on the same plane as *angellus* because of the likeness of the endings of both words, and this impression would only have been strengthened if *angulus* was thought to be, like *ānulus*, a diminutive. Moreover, since *ānellus* meant '(little) ring' (not 'tiny ring' as distinct[67] from *ānulus* 'little ring') and *angellus* meant '(little) angle', the suffixes of both words could readily have been equated from the semantic standpoint also.

§ 32. These considerations make it doubtful whether *porcellus*, for example, is to be derived phonetically from **pork-el-elo-s* with *-elelo-* representing gemination of the diminutive formans[68] seen in *porculus* < **pork-elo-s*, or whether *porcellus* was made on *porculus* because *vitellus* was the diminutive of *vitulus* (doubtless felt to be a diminutive also). In any case, we may posit the following phonetic development for *catellus* and *vitellus*:

**katel-elo-s* > *catellus*, and **u̯itel-elo-s* > *vitellus*.

The type *porcellus* (to *porculus porcus*), whether established phonetically or by analogy, was very productive. Thus, *porcellus*, *porcella*, *catellus*, and *matella* may have served as models for the formation

be a derivative of *vetus* 'old' (= Gr. (ϝ)έτος 'year'; see Skutsch, ALL 15.35) plus adjectival *-elo-* and may have meant originally '*yearling'; see Walde² s. vv. *vetus* and *vitulus* for parallels. A difficulty is that **viterulus* would be expected, since *vetus* was an *s*-stem; but cf. the Latin formation *vetulus* 'old(ish)', to *vetus -eris*. Also the *i* remains unexplained (Varro LL 5.96 referred *vitulus* to Gr. ἰταλός 'bull' [Hesych.]).

67. The distinction between the diminutive endings *-ulo/ā-*, *-ello/ā-* (*-illo/ā-*), and *-ellulo/ā-* (*-illulo/ā-*) was one of emotional nuance rather than one of progressively diminutive meaning ('small ...', 'very small ...', 'tiny ...'); see note 50.

68. It is true of course that diminutives were amplified or strengthened in different ways in different languages; cf. Gr. -ίσκιον, a combination of dimin. -ισκο- and dimin. -ιον, OE *-kīn* < dimin. *-ko-* + adjectival *-īno-*, and OHG *-līn* (= NHG *-lein*) < dimin. *-(e)lo-* + adjectival *-īno-*. See Cooper, Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius 168, for the cumulatory diminutive suffixes and reasons for their productivity; cf. also F. Conrad, Glotta 20.83.

of _agnellus, ānellus, arcella, aucella, cistella,_ and _sitella_ ; _angellus, cucumella, locellus, popellus,_ and _sportella_ may be reckoned as later analogical formations. We should have _*angullus_ rather than _angellus_ (to _angulus_, probably from a _u_-stem _*angu-_ + _-lo-_), if the latter were not a momentary [69] analogical formation. _Ocellus_ as a term of endearment perhaps owed its ending to _catellus_ or _vitellus_ which were similarly used. [70] We have _fābella_ and _tabella_ (to primitives with stems in _-blā-_) for phonetic _*fābilla_ and _*tabilla_, because those diminutives were formed by analogy after their primitives had assumed the forms _fābula_ and _tabula_. [71] Similarly _popellus_ for _*popillus_ (< _*popl-elo-_) since the former was a momentary coinage (of Horace ? [72]). The endings of the adjectives _blandicella_ and _mollicellus_ may have been influenced by that of _tenellus_ (List 1.42), especially if the latter had a by-form _*tenerulus_ ; presumably _*tenerulus_ : _tenellus_ = _molliculus_ : _mollicellus_.

## List 7 : Diminutives in _-illo/ā-_ from primitives in _-elo/ā-_ (extant forms in _-ulo/ā-_)

1 _aliquantillus_ [73] ' very little ', Plaut. ; to _aliquantulus_ (II _-elo-_), _aliquantus_ ' some '.

_ancilla_ ' female slave, serving woman ', Liv. Andr. ; to _ancula_ (stem _*amb–q_$^u$_olā-_ [74]).

_anicilla_ [75] ' little old woman ', Varro ; to _anicula_ (II _-elā-_), _anus_.

_cingillum_ ' (small) girdle ', Varro ; to _cingulum_ (I _-elo-_ [76]).

69. _Angellus_ is attested for the Republican period only in Lucr. 2.428.

70. Cf. Plaut. Asin. 667 and 691.

71. Anaptyxis in the suffix _-bulo/ā-_ is older than any extant tradition ; see Leumann 81.1, and cf. CIL $I^2$.581 TABOLAM. TABLEIS (CIL $I^2$.585) and Umbr. **tafle** ' in tabula ' are syncopated forms.

72. _Popellus_ is found only in Hor. Ep. 1.7.65 and Pers. 4.15.

73. Apparently found only in Plaut. Capt. 137 foris aliquantillum (sc. _frustum_) etiam quod gusto id beat.

74. To _amb(i)_ and _colō_ (< _*q_$^u$_el-_ ' turn, move oneself ') ; _anculus -a_ = Gr. ἀμφίπολος ' servant ' ; see Hofmann s. vv. _anculus_ and _colō_. Juret, Dominance et résistance 158, would derive _ancilla_ from _*anklolā_, to the syncopated forms _anclō_ ' ministro ' and _anclābris_ (sc. _mēnsa_) ' sacrificial table '. In my opinion _ancilla_ has an analogical _i_ ; _*am-q_$^u$_ol-elā_ would phonetically have become _*anculla_ (cf. _ampulla_ < _*ampor-elā_). With the obsolescence of _ancula_, _ancilla_ was no longer felt to be a diminutive ; _ancillula_ is found as early as Plautus.

75. By-forms : _anucella_ Fronto, to _anucula_ CGL 3.439.50, and _anilla_ Macrob. de differ. verb. 692, to _anula_ ; cf. CIL 8.7694.7 ANVLLA.

76. Or _-lo-_ (?) in view of Gr. κιγκλίς ' enclosure '.

5 *cōdicillus*[77] 'piece of wood, written document', Cato; to *cōdiculus* (II *-elo-*), *cōdex* (stem **cōdic-*).

*crepitācillum* '(small) rattle', Lucr.; to *crepitāculum* (*-clo-*[78]).

*frūstillum*[79], *frūstillātim* 'in small pieces', Plaut.; to *frūstulum* (II *-elo-*), *frūstum*.

*furcilla*[80] 'small fork', Varro; to *furcula* (II *-elā-*), *furca*.

*haedillus*[81] 'young kid', Plaut.; to *haedulus* (II *-elo-*), *haedus*.

10 *mamilla* 'nipple', Plaut.; to *mammula* (II *-elā-*), *mamma* 'breast'.

*ōricilla* (*auri-*) 'ear-lap, external ear', Catul.; to *auricula* (II *-elā-*), *auris*.

*ōscillum*[82] 'little mask, cavity in leguminous fruits', Verg.; to *ōsculum* (II *-elo-*) 'little mouth', *ōs*.

*papilla* 'nipple', Plaut; to *papula* (I *-elā-*[83]) 'pimple'.

*pēnicillus*[84] 'painter's brush', Cic.; to *pēniculus* (II *-elo-*) 'dust-brush', *pēnis* 'tail'.

[*piscīnilla*[85].]

15 *pūpilla*[86] 'orphan, pupil of the eye', Lucr.; to *pūpula* (II *-elā-*), *pūpa* 'girl'.

77. By-forms: *cōdicillum* Cod. Just. (neut. after *diplōma* ?) and *cōdicellus* Sen. (*-e-* after *tabella* ?). *Cōdiculus* (*cau-*) is not attested until Late Latin and may be a back-formation.

78. *Crepitācillum* has been included in this list rather than in List 5 on the ground that it was probably formed analogically on the historical primitive in *-culum*.

79. *Frūstillum* is first found in Arnobius (cf. *frūstellum* Marc. Emp.; *-e-* after *ofella* ?), and *frūstulum* first in Apuleius.

80. Derivative: *furcillēs* 'gallows' Paul.-Fest. (3d declen. after *crux crucēs* ?).

81. Fem. *haedilla* Itala. *Haedulus* is first found in Juvenal.

82. *Ōscillum* is attested principally as a technical term from Roman religion; see Verg. Georg. 2.389 (cf. Serv. ad loc. and Macrob. S. 1.7) and Paul.-Fest. 194.8 M. Friedrich, Demin. Bild. 59, suggests that the word was a translation of Gr. προσω-πίδιον 'small mask'.

83. To root **pap-* 'swell'; see Walde[2] s. v. *papula*.

84. Neut. *pēnicillum* Quint. (gender after other neuter nouns denoting instruments); cf. CGL 3.207.50 *penicellum* σπόγγο<ς> (cf. Col. 12.18); see also 18.57.

85. Nowhere attested, and expressly disallowed by Varro LL 9.74: cum sit anus cadus simile et sit ab anu anicula anicilla, a cado duo reliqua quod non sint propagata, sic non dicatur a piscina piscinula piscinilla.

86. *Pūpilla* was used in the meaning 'pupil' by Lucretius and Pliny sen., *pūpula* in the same meaning by Cicero, Varro, Catullus, Horace, and Ovid. *Pūpilla* with the meaning 'orphan' was perhaps originally merely the feminine counterpart of *pūpillus* 'orphan', and later acquired the meaning 'pupil' from *pūpula* (originally a 'relational' diminutive translating Gr. κόρη 'pupil').

*pūpillus* ' orphan ', Cic. ; to *pūpulus* (II *-elo-*) ' little boy ', *pūpus* ' boy '.

*quantillus* ' how little ? ', Plaut. ; to *quantulus* (II *-elo-*), *quantus* ' how great ? '.

*scortillum* ' harlot ', Catul. ; to *scortulum* [87] (II *-elo-*), *scortum*.

*scrūtillus* ' pork-sausage ' [88], Plaut. ; to *scrūtulus* (II *-elo-*), *scrautum* ' quiver made of skins '. [89]

20 *tantillus* ' so little ', Plaut. ; to *tantulus* (II *-elo-*), *tantus* ' of such size '.

*tegillum* ' hood ', Plaut. ; to *tegulum* (I *-elo-*) ' covering, roof '.

§ **33**. In no one of these words was the suffixal *-i-* phonetic (except possibly in *cingillum* < **king-l-elo-* ? [90]). In order to derive *mamilla*, for example, with regular phonetic changes from **mamm-el-elā*, one would have to posit a double syncope (first in the second syllable and then in the third); granted this, the group *-l̥l-* > *-ill-* would have arisen :

**mamm-el-elā* > **mámmlelā* > **mámml̥lā* > **mammílla* > *mamilla*.

That such a development took place does not seem at all likely [91] ; furthermore, if the diminutive suffered syncope in the second syllable, it is consistent to expect that the primitive did also, and we should have to explain the *u* of *mammula* < **mamm-lā* as due to anaptyxis. Similar reconstructions that might be posited for other diminutives (and their primitives) of this group would be equally unsatisfactory.

§ **34**. In my opinion, the diminutives of this group were influenced in their endings by special analogies in particular instances or by the diminutives in *-illo/ā-* which had developed by phonetic changes from primitives with stems in *-no-* and *-lo/ā-*. Thus, *cingillum* and *tegillum* were modeled after *bacillum* and *pōcillum* (List 5.3 and 11), or *tegil-*

87. Not attested until Late Latin (CGL 2.532.18 ; a back-formation ?).

88. Cf. Paul.-Fest. 332.2 M scrutillus venter suillus condito farre expletus. *Scrūtulus* is a late word (see CGL 5.611.32, where Götz reads *scrutillus*).

89. Cf. also *scrūta -ōrum* ' rubbish ', and see Walde[2] s. v. *scrautum*.

90. See note 76 supra ; for *crepitācillum* (< **krepitā-kl-elo-* ??) see note 78.

91. Double syncope may of course have taken place in the development of some words ; see Götze, IF 41.84, who would derive *diurnus* thus : **diu̯esinos* > **diverinos* > **divernos* > *diurnus* (equally possible is analogical formation after *nocturnus*, to *noctū* ' by night ' ; cf. *diū* ' by day ' and see Hofmann s. v. 1. *diū*). Derivation of *-illo/ā-* in these words from *-lelo/ā-* is hardly feasible, since the diminutive suffix was regularly *-elo/ā-* (*-elelo/ā-* if geminated).

*lum* may have been influenced by *tigillum* (3.5). *Tantillus* and *pusillus* (5.12) may well have been associated because of their similarity in meaning; the *-i-* of *tantillus* which was so acquired would naturally have passed into *quantillus* and *aliquantillus*. *Ancilla* is attested as early as Livius Andronicus and may have been made during the period when Greek influence was first making itself felt; because of association with Gr. ἀμφίπολος, a word whose etymology was transparent ('she who moves about [her mistress]'), *ancilla* was perhaps fancied to be a derivative of Gr. ἄγχι 'near'.[92] *Anicilla* could readily have been paired with *ancilla*, especially since female slaves were frequently women who had grown old in the service of a family. *Cōdicillus*[93], *crepitācillum*, *furcilla*, *ōscillum*[94], and *pēnicillus* were perhaps influenced in their suffixal vocalism by *bacillum* and *pōcillum*, nouns which likewise denoted instruments.[95] *Mamilla* perhaps acquired *i* because this word in the language of children was practically equivalent to a proper name[96] (and in proper names *-illo/ā-* was far commoner than *-ello/ā-*); after *mamilla* were modeled other nouns indicating parts of the body: *ōricilla*, *papilla* and *pūpilla*.

§ 35. The suffix *-illo-* may be 'single' and analogical to that of diminutives from *-no-* and *-lo-* stems in the following words of this group: *cōdicillus*, *frūstillum*, *haedillus*, *scortillum* and *scrūtillus*; for the primitives in *-ulo-* corresponding to these diminutives are not attested until Imperial times[97] and may all be back-formations.

92. Cf. perhaps Plaut. Trin. 799 *servos ancillas amove*, and Cic. pro Mil. 55 *ducebat ancillarum greges*.

93. It is hardly likely that *cōdicillus* was influenced by *pugillārēs* 'writing tablets', since the latter was probably first used in Imperial times.

94. Influence of *ōscillum* ('mask [suspended in the open air]') by a verb *cillō* 'move', though assumed by the ancients (cf. Fest. 194.8 M), is very dubious, since the existence of the latter has been called in question (see Hofmann s. v.).

95. See Juret, Dominance et résistance 154, for a similar explanation of *pēnicillus*. It is not likely that an original *e* in these words was 'palatalized' to *i* by the preceding *c*, inasmuch as we may offset *ancilla*, *anicilla*, *bacillum*, *cesticillus*, *cōdicillus*, *cōnspicillum*, *crepitācillum*, *furcilla*, *opicillum*, *ōricilla*, *ōscillum*, *pēnicillus*, *pōcillum*, and *specillum* by as many Republican diminutives with *-ce-*: *arcella*, *aucella*, *blandicella*, *cancellī*, *fiscella*, *locellus*, *lucellum*, *macellus*, *miscellus*, *mollicellus*, *ocellus*, *porcellus* (*-a*), *pulc(h)ellus*, *rūsticellus*, *sacellum*.

96. Cf. Plaut. Pseud. 179 ubi isti sunt quibu' vos oculi estis, Quibu' vitae, quibu' deliciae estis, quibu' savia, mammia (*mamilla* cod. P), mellillae? See also note 61 supra. For the frequency of *-illa* in names of parts of the body, see Meillet, MSL 15.367.

97. See notes 77, 79, 81, 87, and 88 supra.

## List 8 : Diminutives in *-ello/ā-* with no antecedent forms in *-ulo/ā-* extant

1 *Covella,* cult-name of Juno Kalendaris (Varro) ; perh. to *cavus* (< **covo-* [98]) 'hollow'.
*fāmella* 'rumor', Fest. ; to *fāma*.
*hirnella* [99] 'pitcher (used in rituals)', Paul.-Fest. ; to *hirnea* 'jug'.
*mantellum* [100] 'covering, cloak', Plaut. ; to *mantum* 'short mantle'.
5 *miscellus* [101] '*of mixed colors, mixed', Cato ; perh. to *misceō* 'mix'.
*novellus* [102] 'young, new', Varro ; to *novus*.
*truella* (*trulla*) 'ladle', Cato ; to *trua* 'stirring-spoon, ladle'.
*volsellae* [103] 'tweezers, forceps', Plaut. ; to **volsa* (< *volsus*, PPP of *vellō*).

98. See Sommer² 109. *Covella*, being a ritualistic term, may have been conservative of the older vocalism. Juno Kalendaris was associated with the course of the moon and was invoked at the time of the new moon with the name *Covella*, which perhaps referred to the 'hollow' disc visible at that period ; see also Varro LL 6.27 and G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Rōmer² (München 1912) 187.

99. Paul.-Fest. 105.12 M *irnela vasis genus in sacris* (*irnela* Lind.). In Cic. Parod. 1.2.11 the correct reading is *urnulas*.

100. Var. MSS reading *mantelum* (contamination with *mantēle* 'napkin' : Walde² s. v. ; *-ellum* in Romance : Meyer-Lübke no. 5326). *Mantum* is attested in Isidore and in Romance (Meyer-Lübke no. 5328).

101. By-form *miscillus* Mart. Cap. *Miscellus* (with a passive meaning !) was referred by the Romans to *misceō*, as is evident from *ludi miscelli* Suet. Calig. 20 and from the derivatives *miscellāneus* Juv. 11.20 and *miscelliōnēs* (Paul.-Fest. 123.7 M m. appellantur qui non certae sunt sententiae sed variorum mixtorumque iudiciorum sunt). On the basis of technical passages in Cato, however, Leumann (Glotta 11.190) would take *miscellus* as a diminutive to *minusculus* 'rather small' : **minuscéllus* > **minscéllus* > *mīscellus* (cf. *mīsterium* = *ministerium*). He justifies this derivation by the fact that vintners pick the smallest grapes growing on poor vines for the vintage ; thus *ūvae mīscellae* '*poor grapes' came to mean 'grapes of mixed color' and the meaning 'mixed . . .' became completely generalized through the natural association of *miscellus* with *misceō*.

102. Used esp. of flora and fauna ; cf. Cic. de fin. 5.14.39 *arbor et novella et vetula*, and *novella -ae* (sc. *vītis*) 'newly planted vine' Coripp. Cf. perhaps also Osc. **Núvellum** 'Novellum' (see von Planta, Gram. d. osk.-umbr. Dialekte 2.24 ; otherwise Götze, IF 41.84, and Muller, Altit. Wörterb. 294 s. v. *nŏu̯os*). Juret, Dominance et résistance 154, proposes to derive *novellus* from **novero-lo-*, to *nover-ca* (but see Walde² s. v.). For *novellus* in Romance, see Meyer-Lübke no. 5967.

103. Var. MSS reading *vuls-* ; *volsellae* occurs in Plaut., Cels., and Mart., *volsillae* in Varro (*i* because of analogy to other nouns in *-illo/ā-* denoting instruments ; see § 34 supra).

## List 9 : Diminutives in *-illo/ā-* with no antecedent forms in *-ulo/ā-* extant

1 *arillātor* 'middleman, broker', Paul.-Fest. ; to *arra* [104] earnest-money, security'.

*avillus* 'new-born lamb', Paul.-Fest. ; to *ovis*. [105]

*cesticillus* 'ring placed upon the head to support a burden', Paul.-Fest. ; perh. to *cestus* 'girdle, belt'.

*cōnspicillum* 'watching, (secret) hiding place', Plaut. ; to *cōnspiciō*. [106]

5 *fracillī -ōrum* '*dregs of oil, dirt', Paul.-Fest. ; perh. to *fracēs* [107] 'oil-lees'.

*fringilla* [108] 'finch, sparrow', Varro ; to *fringul(t)iō -īre* 'chirp'.

*lapillus* 'pebble', Hor. ; to *lapis* (stem **lapid-*).

104. Cf. Paul.-Fest. 20.12 M *arillator coctio qui etiam cocio appellatur*, and CGL 5.7.38 *arilla<tore> coactione* (*coctione* ?) *panniculario* ; see Löwe, Prodr. 285, and Hofmann s. vv. *arillātor*, *arrabō*, and *cōciō*. *Arillātor* presupposes an **arilla* < **arrilla*, to *arra*, which was a short form of *arrabō -ōnis* masc. (Plaut.).

105. **Ovillus* > *avillus* (cf. **covāre* > *cavāre*, and see Sommer$^{2}$ 109) ; since *avillus* was purely a Latin formation it can hardly be derived with Fröhde, BB 1.327-8, from PIE **ag$^{u̯}$(h)n-elos*, to *agnus*. And yet from *ovi-s* one would expect *ovicula* **ovicella*.

106. Cf. *specula* 'watch-tower'. *Cōnspicillum* is very rare and varies between verbal and diminutive meaning : for the former cf. Plaut. Cist. 90 dum redeo domum, Conspicillo consecutust clanculum me usque ad fores, and for the latter cf. Non. 84.5 M conspicillum unde conspicere possis. Plautus Medico : in conspicillo (*-ilio* codd.) adservabam, pallium observabam.

107. The original (unattested) meaning of *fracillī* may have been 'oil-lees' after that of the primitive *fracēs*. Since *fracēs* = *floccēs* 'lees (of wine)' and *floccēs* was confused with *floccī* 'tufts of wool', the latter meaning apparently passed into *fracillī* ; cf. Paul.-Fest. 90.10 M *fratilli villi sordidi in tapetis*. Furthermore, since *fracēs* was associated with *fraceō* 'putrefy, decay', a corresponding meaning passed into the primitive and its diminutive ; cf. CGL 5.22.11 *fracebunt sordebunt, displicebunt, dictum a fracibus qui sunt stillicidia sterquilinii* with CGL 5.22.23 *fratellis sordium glomusculis* (*flat-* cod. R ; *fracellis* coni. Götz), 5.599.20 *fritillum stillicidium stercoris in sterquilinium*, and 5.653.16 *fretillum fimum purgo*. The gloss of Paulus quoted above may therefore represent an attempt to relate three disparate meanings or notions : *villī* represents *floccī* (: *floccēs* = *fracēs*), *sordidī* represents the notion in *fraceō* (: *fracēs*), and *in tapētīs* is doubtless corrupted from *in trapētō* 'in an oil-press' in the original gloss (which perhaps read *fracilli fraces in trapeto contusi*). See also DuCange, s. vv. *fracelli* and *fractellum*. For the writing *t* for *c* before the palatal vowels *e* and *i*, cf. *conditiō* for *condiciō* and see Leumann 111.d ; for the variations in the initial syllable (*fra-*, *fla-*, *fre-*, *fri-*) cf. *clītellae* List 1.9 and its note.

108. Var. forms : *fringuilla* (Meyer-Lübke no. 3516), *fringillus* Varro, and *frigilla* (cf. *frigō -ere* 'squeak' and *frigulō -āre* 'scream' [of the daw]).

*mellilla* 'sweet (heart)', Plaut.; to *mel*[109] (stem **mell-*).
*moracillum* (?), Titinius; to **moracius* 'hard'.[110]
10 *mōscillī*[111] 'evil habits, bad character', Cato; to *mōs*.
*murmurillum* 'murmuring', Plaut.; to *murmur*.
*opicillum*[112] 'help', Varro; to *ops* (stem **op-*).
*pūtillus* 'very small', Plaut.; to *pūtus*[113] 'boy'.
*rāvillae* (*R-*) 'having yellowish-gray eyes', Fest.[114]; to *rāvus* 'gray'.
15 *sāvillum* 'a kind of (sweet) preserve, or cheese-cake', Cato; to *suāvis*.[115]
*specillum* 'surgeon's probe', Cic.; to *speciō*[116] 'look at'.
*strittābillae* (?), Varro; to **strittābula* from *strittō -āre* 'walk slowly or lamely'.[117]

109. Not from *mel(l)ina* 'mead', since **mellella* would then be expected (see List 2). *Mellilla* was used like a proper name and so is comparable to *Septimillus* (to *Septimius*: Catul. 45.1 and 13).

110. Cf. Fest. 139.5 M moracias nuces Titinius duras esse ait, unde fit deminutive moracillum (hardly to *mora*: see Walde² s. v.).

111. Cf. Paul.-Fest. 158.17 M *moscillis Cato pro parvis* (*pravis* coni. Jordan) *moribus dixit*, and CGL 5.604.51 *mosillus parvus mos*. Keller, ALL 4.139 (and Lat. Etym. 73), would read the passage in Paulus as *muscillis Cato pro parvis muribus dixit* (but see Birt, Rh. Mus. 51.263). *Muscillis* is favored by the fact that *mūsculus* usually meant 'muscle' and almost never 'little mouse'; in my opinion, however, *moscillis* should be retained, since the plural number plainly indicates that the word was made with reference to *mōrēs* '(bad) character'.

112. Varro ap. Non. 83.25 M *in uxorculae opicillum* (gender after *auxilium*); the nearest morphological analogue of *op-icillum* is perhaps *ōri-cilla* (to *auri-s*).

113. *Pūtus* apparently occurs only in Verg. Catalep. 7.2 *dispeream nisi me perdidit iste putus* (*pothus potus* codd., *putus* Scaliger, πόθος Spiro). The (rare) formation *pūtillus* was made on *pūtus* because *pūsillus* was felt to be the diminutive of *pūsus* 'boy'; see Walde² s. vv. *pūsus* and *pūtus* and List 5.12, Meyer-Lübke no. 6890.

114. Fest. 274.8 M *ravillae* (*raviliae* Lind.) *a ravis oculis quemadmodum a caesiis caesullae*. *Rāvillae* may be an etymologizing of the proper name *Rāvilla* (see Hofmann s. v. *caesius*); otherwise why the fem. pl.? Cf. Schulze, Eigennamen 219 (*Ravillius*, *Ravelio*<*s*>).

115. Hardly to *suāvium* 'kiss' (= *sāv-*; dimin. *s[u]āviolum* Catul.). *Sāvillum* is dissimilated from *suāvillum* (found in some MSS); gender after *condīmentum* or *cāseum* (neut. in Cato Agr. 76.3), or cf. the neut. substantive *bellāria -ōrum* 'dessert', to *bellus*.

116. Not to *speculum* 'mirror'; morphologically cf. *cōnspicillum*, to *cōnspiciō*.

117. Cf. Varro LL 7.65 *strittabillas a strettillando; strittare ab eo qui sistit aegre* (cf. Meyer-Lübke no. 8318 *strittāre* 'langsam einhergehen'), and Ps. Plaut. ap. Gell. 3.3.6 *scrattae, scrupedae* ('hobbling'), *strittivillae sordidae*. For this obscure word's association with meretricious women and its possible corruption into *strictivillae* (to *stringō* and *villus*), see Keller, Volksetym. 178.

*todillus* 'scrawny, puny', Plaut.; to *todus -ī* 'small bird'.[118]
*tōnsilla* 'pole for fastening vessels to shore', Accius; to *tōnsa* 'oar'.

§ **36**. The words in Lists 8 and 9 show that the endings *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* had become dissociated even in the Republican period from stems in *-ro/ā-*, *-no/ā-*, and *-lo/ā-* on which they originally developed by phonetic processes, and that they readily attached themselves to other nominal stems and even to verbal stems (as in *cōnspicillum* and *specillum*) as independent formative elements. It should be recognized, however, that in the case of some words falling in these two lists antecedent forms in *-ulo/ā-* might readily be posited, since one is hardly justified in believing that written tradition has preserved the spoken vocabulary of Latin in its entirety. In the lack of such testimony it has seemed better, however, to refer these diminutives to attested primitives, in view of the fact also that the existence of a process of analogical extension identical with that mentioned above is assured by abundant examples from Imperial times. Thus, we nowhere find a **novolus* or a **mantulum* attested, and only the diminutives *novellus* and *mantellum* have passed into Romanic languages.[119] In particular cases the formation of forms in *-ulo/ā-* was perhaps hindered for special reasons: thus, a **fāmula* would have been confused with *fămula* 'maid-servant', an **ovolus* would have been too unlike *avillus* or been associated with *ōvum* 'egg', a rare **cōnspiculum* or **speculum* could hardly have maintained itself against the common word *speculum* 'mirror', a formation **mellula (-us)* was hindered by the existence of *melliculus*, and a **murmurulum* with four successive *u* sounds and an unaccentea penult would readily have been ousted by the more expressive *murmurillum* with accented penult (the latter position of the accent being preferred especially in the popular speech[120]). *Mōscillī* and *opicillum*, being nonce-formations, were doubtless formed directly on *mōs* and the stem **op-* after analogies which are not tangible to us.

118. Cf. Plaut. Cist. 407 *diobolares, schoeniculae, miraculae, Cum extertis talis, cum todillis crusculis* (see Lindsay's critical note ad loc.), Paul.-Fest. 353.2 M *todi genus avium parvarum. Plautus: Cum extortis talis, cum todillis crusculis*, and CGL 5.624.39 *todillus gracilis. Todillus* (ī ?) may hardly be referred to *todinus* (ī ?), which is attested only by Priscian. See 10.7 *cro[co]tillus*.

119. See notes 100 and 102.

120. See Wölfflin, ALL 12.305 (Analogiebildungen auf *-ellus*, *-ella*, *-ellum*).

§ **37**. It is not possible to indicate precisely from which phonetic type or types the endings *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* were extended as independent suffixes; any type which had been phonetically established might theoretically have provided the point of departure. The opinion may be offered that in the type *asellus* (2.1) the ending *-ello-* might easily have detached itself because of the dissimilarity of this diminutive and its primitive *asinus*; likewise, since *pauxillus* (5.8) bore little resemblance to the primitive *paulus*, the ending *-illo-* migh have become isolated and thus productive of other diminutives. A lesser factor in the transfer of *-illo/ā-* to its independent status may have been such formations as *capillus* (which could popularly have been referred only to *cap-ut* or to *capiō*) and *lapillus* (< **lapid-los*). The verbal noun *cavilla* (5.5), whether it was consciously associated with *calvor* or not, may similarly have been responsible for the formations *cōnspicillum* and *specillum*. The ending *-cillo/ā-* also became detached and was used as a 'single' suffix, e. g. in *mōscillī* and *opicillum*; cf. *ōscillum* and *anicilla* (7.12 and 3) where this suffix is 'double'. *Cesticillus* is exceptional in showing *-cillo-* attaching to an *o*-stem; but perhaps the primitive *cestus* 'girdle' was confused with *caestus* 'boxer's glove', on the stem of which **c(a)estu-*, *cesticillus* would be a regular formation.

§ **38**. It will be noted that the suffix *-ello/ā-* is represented by the minority and *-illo/ā-* by the majority of the examples contained in Lists 8 and 9. This is perhaps surprising in view of the fact that the Republican diminutives in *-ello/ā-* slightly overbalance those in *-īllo/ā-* (84 : 82). The reason for the disparity in this instance is best assigned to fortuitous circumstances, since a theory that the 'single' suffix *-ello/ā-*, and not the 'single' *-illo/ā-*, was felt to be unnatural in view of the usual use of the former as a 'double' suffix (List 6) is invalidated by the almost equally frequent use of *-illo/ā-* as a 'double' suffix (List 7).

## VII. MISCELLANEA OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

### List 10 : Miscellaneous nouns and adjectives of the Republican period, with *-ell-* and *-ill-*

1 *altellus*, a word of obscure meaning and etymology. [1]

*amellus* (*-a*) ' star-wort ', Verg. : perh. a Gallic word. [2]

*argilla* (*-īla*) 'potter's clay', Cato = Gr. ἄργιλλος, ἄργῖλος (fem.).

*bellum* (*duellum*) 'war', Naev. : derivation uncertain. [3]

5 *camillus* (*-a*) ' noble-born boy (girl) employed in the service of the Flamen Dialis (Flaminica) ', Pacuv. : perh. through Etruscan mediation from Gr. κασμῖλος (καδμῖλος) ' the fourth kabir in the Samothracian mysteries '. [4]

*cella* ' granary, closet ', Naev. : perh. with expressive gemination from **cēlā*, to root **k̑el-* 'hide (in the earth)'. [5]

*cro[co]tillus* (*succrotillus*) ' lean, puny ' (?) : a corrupt and contaminated reading in Paul.-Fest.[6] ; cf. *todillus* (9.18) ?

*hēmicillus* 'mule', Cic.[7] = Gr. *ἡμίκιλλος.

*intripillō* (abl.) : corrupt reading of Plaut. Stich. 691.

1. See Thes. Ling. Lat. s. v. and cf. Paul.-Fest. 7.10 M *ab alterno altellus*, CGL 2.565.51 *altellus altus diminutivum*, and CGL 4.206.10 *altellus terrae nutritus* (contamination of *alō* and *tellūs*).

2. See Hofmann s. v.

3. See Hofmann and Ernout-Meillet s. v.

4. The word may have entered Latin as *casmillus* (with expressive gemination) and then have become **cammillus* > *camillus* ; see Hofmann s. v. and Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer² 496.

5. See Hofmann s. vv. *cella* and *cēlō*. The diminutive *cellula* occurs as early as Terence.

6. *Crocotillus* is not connected with *crocōtula -ae* 'saffron robe '(Plaut. Epid. 231). Cf. Paul.-Fest. 52.20 M *crocotillum valde exile. Plautus : ... crocotillis crusculis* with 353.2 M... *cum todillis crusculis* (Fest. 301.27 M *sodellis*) ; cf. also Fest. 300.12 M *succrotilla vox tenuis et alta. Titinius : feminina fabula succrotilla vocula.* See *todillus* (9.18) and its note. In the phrase *cum todillis crusculis*, *todillīs* was perh. made alliterative with *crūsculīs* and altered to **crotillīs*. The compound *suc-crotilla* may then have been modeled upon *sub-tīlis* (whence also the *s-* of *sodellīs* ?). Was **crotillus* later contaminated with *crocodīlus *-illus* 'crocodile ' and enlarged (metri gratia also ?) to *crocotillus* ?

7. Cic. ad Att. 13.51.1 (reading dubious).

10 *ipsilles* : conjecture for *ipsullices* Paul.-Fest. [8]

*luella* = *luēla* 'expiation', Lucr.

*macellum* (*-us*) '(meat-)market', Plaut. : perh. from the Semitic. [9]

*mellum* (Varro) and *millus* (Paul.-Fest.) 'dog's collar' : to *monīle* ? [10]

*metellus* 'mercennary', Accius : hardly to *metō -ere* 'reap' or *metallum* 'metal'.

15 *mōtacilla* 'the water-wagtail', Varro : perh. a hybridization of *mōtō* 'move' and Gr. κίλλ-ουρος 'wagtail'. [11]

*murmillō* (*mir-*, *myr-*) 'a kind of gladiator who wore a helmet on which was the image of a fish', Cic. : perh. an adaptation of Gr. μορμύλος 'sea-fish'. [12]

*mustella* = *mustēla* 'weasel', Plaut. [13]

*nitella* = *nitēla* 'brightness', Catul.

*pellis* 'hide', Ennius : not a diminutive formation (< **pel-nis*).

20 *procella* 'tempest', Lucr. ; to *-cellō* from **-keldō*.

*querella* = *querēla* 'complaint', Lucr.

*satelles* 'attendant, body-guard', Cic. : not a diminutive formation. [14]

*scilla* (*squilla*) 'sea-onion', Lucil. : = Gr. σκίλλα.

*sella* 'seat', Plaut. : not a diminutive (from **sed-lā* with primary *-lā*, to *sedeō*).

25 *serpillum* (*serpullum*) 'wild-thyme', Cato : = Gr. ἕρπυλλον. [15]

*succrotillus*, see *cro[co]tillus*.

*tellūs* 'earth', Lucr. : perh. from **tēlos* (neut.). [16]

8. Paul.-Fest. 105.14 M ipsullices bracteae in virilem muliebremque speciem expressae (*ipsilles* coni. Bugge, Jahrb. klass. philol. 105.99).

9. See Walde² s. v.

10. See Niedermann, Ĕ und Ĭ 65-6, who would derive (unconvincingly) *mellum* from nom. or acc. **mén̥lom*, and the form with *i* from an oblique case : gen. **mn̥lei* > **menlei* > **mellī* > *millī* (*e* > *i* before *ll* ; see op. cit. 69).

11. Cf. Varro LL 5.76 *motacilla quod semper movet caudam* ; see Hofmann s. v. *cillō*, and Keller, Volksetym. 52.

12. See Walde² and Ernout-Meillet s. v. ; *l* was perhaps geminated after the incisive Gr. υ, a sound sometimes represented by *i* in Latin ; cf. *brabilla* (beside *brabyla*) = Gr. βράβυλος fem., *serpillum* = Gr. ἕρπυλλον, and *mītulus* = Gr. μύτυλος.

13. See Walde² s. v. *mustēla* and Keller, Volksetym. 46 (popularly taken as *musdela* = *quae mures delet* ?).

14. See Walde² s. v. (etym. uncertain).

15. See Walde² s. v. (*s-* after *serpō*).

16. See Walde² s. v.

*tranquillus* 'serene', Plaut. : probably not a diminutive formation.[17]

*turbella* (< *turbēla*) 'row, little crowd', Plaut.[18]

30 *vellus* 'fleece', Varro : to *vellō* (< **u̯elsō*).

*vīlla* (*vēlla*) 'country-house', Ter. : not a diminutive formation.[19]

*villus* 'shaggy hair', Cic. : to *vellus*.[20]

§ **39**. Certain of these words show *-ell-* and *-ill-* as the result of expressive gemination of original (or collateral) *-el-* and *-il-* : *argilla*, *camillus*, *cella*, *luella*, *macellum*, *murmillō*, *mustella*, *nitella*, *querella*, *tellūs*, and *turbella*. The leveling of the feminine abstracts in *-ēla* with diminutives in *-ella* was a process which began early in the history of the language (*turbella*, not *turbēla*, is the reading of Plaut. Pseud. 110). A good many of the words of this list may possibly have been felt to be diminutives and consequently may have been instrumental in the analogical spread of the true diminutive suffixes *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* : *amellus*, *camillus* (*-a*), *luella*, *mōtacilla*, *mustella*, *satelles* (esp. in the pejorative meaning 'crony'), *tranquillus*, and *turbella*.

17. See Ernout-Meillet s. v. ('composé expressif qui évoque *quiēs*'); but see also Walde[2] s. v. and Muller, Altit. Wörterb. 493.

18. This word was perhaps felt to be a diminutive as early as Plautus (cf. Pseud. 109 Lind. : scis tu quidem hercle, mea si commovi sacra, Quo pacto et quantas soleam turbellas dare), and certainly by the time of Apuleius, who took the word as a diminutive of *turba* 'crowd'. See Leumann 172.IV.C and List 5.5, note 11.

19. *Vīlla* is from **u̯eik-slā* (cf. *vīcus* < **u̯eikos* < **u̯oik-os*); see Sommer[2] 251.

20. See Walde[2] s. v. and also Niedermann, Ĕ und Ĭ 66-7.

## VIII. GENERAL REMARKS ON THE DIMINUTIVES OF IMPERIAL DATE

§ 40. Although the diminutives in *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* of Imperial times are practically all to be reckoned as analogical in formation, they will be grouped for the sake of clarity in the same manner as the earlier diminutives of Republican date, as if they were actually (like the latter) phonetic products of primitives with stems in *-ro/ā-*, *-no/ā-*, and *-lo/ā-*. Those diminutives which are not followed by an author's name in the usual manner heretofore observed have been taken principally from Meyer-Lübke's Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch; and even hypothetical forms posited by that scholar have been included on the ground that extant words of the Romance languages justify such postulations.

## IX. IMPERIAL DIMINUTIVES IN *-ELLO/Ā-*, *-ILLO/Ā-*, *-ĪLLO/Ā-*, FROM PRIMITIVES IN *-RO/Ā-*, *-ĬNĀ-*, *-ĪNO-*

### List 11 : Diminutives in *-ello/ā-* from primitives in *-ro/ā-* (*-erā-*, *-er-*, *-ri-*, *-r-*)

1 *apiastellum* 'the plant batrachion, frog-wort', Ps. Apul.; to *apiastrum*[1] 'wild-parsley'.

*capistellum* 'part of a harness', Edict. Imp. Diocl.; to *capistrum* 'halter, muzzle'.

*clōstellum*[2] 'lock', Petron.; to *clōstrum* (*clau-*) 'bar, bolt'.

*crībellum*[3] 'sieve', Pallad.; to *crībrum*.

5 *frātellus*[4] 'brother', Scaurus; to *frāter*.

*glabellus* 'smooth', Apul.; to *glaber -rī*.

*lambellus[5] 'rag, patch'; misformed on *lamber-āre* 'tear to pieces'.

*lībellus*[6] 'balance'; to *lībra*.

*oleastellus*[7] 'species of olive-tree', Colum.; to *oleaster -trī* 'wild olive-tree'.

10 *pīnastellus*[8] 'peucedanum, hog's-fennel', Ps. Apul.; to *pīnaster -trī* 'wild pine'.

*rōstellum* '(little) bill or snout', Colum.; to *rōstrum*.

*rubellus* 'reddish', Persius; to *ruber -brī*.

1. *Apiastrum* meant also 'balm', a plant to which bees (*apēs*) are attracted.

2. By-form *clūstellum* Aldh., to *clūstrum* Not. Tir. 50.90 S; cf. *mūscellum* = *mōstellum* (1.26), where the variant spellings were influenced perhaps by analogues such as *scrūtillus* (: dialectal *scrōtum* = *scrautum*; see 7.19) and *rūdus* (: *rōdus* = *raudus*). See Sommer[2] 79 Anm. end.

3. By-form *crībrellum* (cf. *umbrella* = *umbella*, to *umbra*); cf. also M-L 2321.2 **garbellum*, a contamination of *crībellum* and Arabic *gerbal*.

4. Probably a nonce-formation after the analogy of *puer puellus*; see Scaurus, GL 7.13.13 *per deminutionem... fratellus* (= *frāterculus*, the proper formation on *frāter*, a consonant stem).

5. M-L 4864.

6. M-L 5010; masc. because of confusion with *lībellus* 'pamphlet' (see List 1.20 and 21), not *bilanx*, which has fem. derivatives in Romance (M-L 1103).

7. By-form *olīvastellum* Gromat., to *olīvaster*; neut. after *olīvum* 'oil' or after other neut. diminutives in *-stellum* (*canistellum plōstellum*).

8. Neut. *pīnastellum*; see note 7.



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*sacellus* 'holy', Prisc.; to *sacer -crī*.[9]

*segestellum* 'covering or wrapper made of hides', Not. Tir.; to *segestre*[10] (stem **segestri-*) or *segestrum*.

15 *tenebellae* 'darkness', Claud. Mamert.; to *tenebrae*.

*terebellum*[11] (*tenebellum*) 'gimlet'; to *terebra* (*-um*) 'borer'.

*tessella*[12] 'small cube, square stone', Sen.; to *tessera*, 'die, token'.

*tŭbellum*[13] 'excrescence'; to *tūber -eris*.

*umbella*[14] 'parasol', Juv.; to *umbra* 'shade'.

20 *verētilla -ōrum*[15] 'private parts', Apul.; to *verētra* (*-um*).

§ 41. For many of these diminutives we may readily find corresponding formations among the earlier words of List 1 which presumably were not without influence in the formation of the examples before us. Thus *apiastellum*, *oleastellus*, and *pīnastellus* are morphologically similar to *grāvastellus* and *peditastellus* (1.16 and 30); *capistellum*, *clōstellum*, *crībellum*, and *rōstellum* are similar to *canistellum*, *lābellum*, *plōstellum*, and *rāstellus* (1.5, 19, 31, 35). The adjectives *glabellus* and *rubellus* may be paralleled by *macellus* and *nigellus* (1.23 and 27). Misformations on *r*-stems (other than *-ro/ā-* stems) first arose in Late Latin: *frātellus*, *tubellum*, and the unique **lambellus* (cf. perhaps only 1.41 *stēlla*). In *crībrellum* and *umbrella*, by-

9. *Sacellus* may have been made by inference from the noun *sacellum* or by the following analogy: *sacrum* : *sacellum* = *sacer* : *sacellus*.

10. See Not. Tir. 99.27 S for *segestellum* and cf. Varro LL 5.166 *segestria quod fere stramenta erant e segete* (but see Walde[2] s. v. *segestre*); from the neut. pl. (apparently with sing. meaning) was made *segestra -ae* Edict. Imp. Diocl., and with reference to the latter and the gender of *segestria* the form *segestrum* CGL 2.181.36.

11. M-L 8659; neut. to *terebrum* (Hieron., *-bra* Cato) or after other diminutives ending in *-bellum* (*crībellum dolābellum*). The dissimilated form *tenebellum* is to be referred to *tenebra* 'borer' (M-L 8661.2).

12. Cf. the older dimin. *tesserula* Lucil.; by-form *tessellum* CGL 3.323.53 (neut. after *pavīmentum tessellatum* Suet.) and perh. also *tesellus* (Gradenwitz, but apparently nowhere attested).

13. M-L 8965; a misformation like *glomellum* for **glomuscellum* (cf. the correct formation *tūberculum* Cels.).

14. By-form *umbrella* CGL 3.326.62; cf. also CGL 3.370.35 *libellum* σκιάδιον (contamination of *scheda scida* 'strip of papyrus, tablet' [: *lībellus*] with σκιά 'shadow', σκιάδιον 'parasol'?). Friedrich, Demin. Bild. 60, would take *umbella* as a translation of Gr. σκιαδίσκη.

15. Plural like *verenda -ōrum* 'privates' (Plin. sen.); the suffixal vocalism of *verētilla* was influenced perhaps by *pēnicillus* (for *pēniculus* in the meaning 'penis', see Plaut. Men. 286) or even by *īlia -ium* 'groin'.

forms of *crībellum* and *umbella*, the ending *-ello/ā-* was transferred from diminutives of stems in *-lo/ā-* (List 6) and attached as an independent suffix directly to the primitives.

List 12 : Diminutives in *-ello/ā-* and *-illā-* from primitives in *-ĭnā-*

*būcellum*[16] '(small) trumpet'; to *būcina*.
*māchilla*[17] '(small) machine', Petron.; to *māchina*.
**pagella*[18] 'lime twig'; to **pagina* 'lime twig'.

List 13 : Diminutives in *-īllo/ā-* from primitives in *-īno-*

*aegyptīlla*[19] 'precious stone (onyx?)', Plin. sen.; to *Aegyptīnus* 'an Egyptian'.
*arietīllum*[20] 'chickpea, leek', Colum.; to *arietīnus* 'of a ram'.
*tergīlla*[21] 'rind of pork', Apic.; to **tergīnus* 'of the back or chine'.
*unguīlla*[22] 'ointment-box', Solin.; to **unguīnus* 'of or for ointment'.

§ 42. The words in Lists 12 and 13 have morphological parallels in Lists 2 and 4, with the exception of *māchilla*, which (if the MS tradition is to be credited) was influenced by one of the diminutives in *-illo-* from *-no-* and *-ni-* stems, possibly by *tigillum* (3.5). The four words of List 13 are only with hesitation to be taken as diminutive formations; one may be fairly certain that *tergīlla* was modeled after *suīlla* (*-us*), a non-diminutive adjective (4.14).

16. M-L 1365; neut. after *cornū*.

17. Petron. 74.13 (reading dubious); *māchilla*, not **māchella*, because of *macella* 'stain'? New formation: *māchinula* Hilar.

18. M-L 6143; with **pagina* (M-L 6146) cf. Gr. πάγη 'snare'.

19. Originally an adjective (*-īlla* [sc. *gemma*] < *-īno-* + adjectival *-lā-*) with the meaning 'precious stone of, i. e., found in Egypt'; cf. Friedrich, Demin. Bild. 66. *Aegyptini* is read by Lindsay for Plaut. Poen. 1291.

20. For the meaning cf. Colum. 2.10.20 *cicer quod arietillum* (codd., *arietinum* edd.) *vocatur*, and CGL 2.24.33 *arietillum* ἀμπελόπρασον 'leek'; masc. *arietīllus* occurs in Petronius (gender after *ariēs*?). The word was originally a neuter adjective (sc. *cicer* or *ālium*); see List 4.1, note 40.

21. Originally an adjective (sc. *carō*) or else made after the analogy of *suīlla* (sc. *carō*) 'pork'; neut. *tergīllum* (CGL 2.197.30 χοίρου δέρμα) was influenced by *tergum* or δέρμα. For **tergīnus* cf. *tergīnum* 'leather whip'.

22. Fem. after *arcula* 'perfume-box'; **unguīnus* was shortened haplologically from **unguīn-īnus*, to *unguen -inis*.

# X. IMPERIAL DIMINUTIVES IN *-ELLO/Ā-* AND *-ILLO/Ā-* FROM PRIMITIVES IN *-ULO/Ā-*

## List 14: Diminutives in *-ello/ā-* from primitives in *-ulo/ā-*

1 **acucella*[1] 'needle'; to *acucula*, *acus -ūs* (fem.).
*agnicellus* 'little lamb', Pompeius; to *agniculus*, *agnus*.
**astella*[2] 'splinter'; to Popular Latin *astula* (= *assula*), *asser -eris* masc. 'beam, pole'.
*barcella* 'small boat', Not. Tir.[3]; to *barcula*, *barca*.
5 *botellus*[4] 'sausage, bowel', Mart.; to *botulus*.
*brevicellus*[5] 'short, brief'; to *breviculus*, *brevis*.
*būbella* (sc. *carō*) 'beef', Inscr.[6]; to *būbula* (sc. *carō*) 'beef'.
*buccella*[7] 'bit of food, morsel', Mart.; to *buccula* '(small) mouth', *bucca* 'cheek, (in Popular Latin) mouth'.
*caccabellus* 'cooking-pot, stewing-pan', Papyri Marini[8]; to *caccabulus*, *caccabus*.

1. M-L 118, to *acucula* M-L 120.

2. M-L 740; for *-st-* = *-ss-* cf. M-L 6442 **pestellum*, to *pessulum* (influence of formations such as *fistella*, to *fistula*, and *clōstellum*, to *clōstrum* ?). *Assula* 'splinter, chip' (**astula* M-L 736.2) occurs in Plautus Merc. 130 at etiam asto? at etiam cesso foribus facere hisce assulas? (i.e., *astulas*, as a pun on *asto* ?). If *assula* may be referred, with Hofmann s.v., to *asser* 'pole', the formation and the gender of the word nevertheless remain obscure (because of the disparity of the meanings 'pole' and 'splinter', the diminutive of *asser* was reformed as a trisyllabic feminine after *tabula* 'board'? Cf. *asserculus* 'small beam or pole' Colum., *-um* Cato).

3. Not. Tir. 110.15 S, to *barcula* Not. Tir. 110.14 S; *barca* is first found in Paul. Nolan.

4. Neut. *botellum* M-L 1230 (neut. first in the meaning 'bowel' after *intestīna* or *viscera*).

5. Gradenwitz, but apparently nowhere attested; the adj. is implicit however in Med. Latin *brevicellum* (DuCange).

6. CIL 4.5380.22.

7. By-forms: *bucella* CGL 3.340.25 (cf. *ofella* for *offella*), *buccilla* 3.7.39 (*i* after *frūstillum* or *ōscillum*), *bucilla* 3.440.41, and *buccellum* 2.481.42 (neut. after *frūstum* or ψωμίον).

8. Papy. Mar. 80.2.11 (564 A.D.); a var. MSS reading of these words is *caca-* (= *cā-*).

10 *calicellus* 'little cup', Antidot. Brux.; to *caliculus, calix* (*calic-*).

*campānella* 'small bell', Anecd. Gramm. Helvet.; to *campānula* Vita Fronton., *campāna* Digest.

**cantharella* [9] 'agaric, mushroom'; to *cantharulus* (Arnob.) 'tankard', *cantharus*.

*capitellum* 'capital of a column', Inscr. [10]; to *capitulum* '(small) head, capital', *caput* (*capit-*).

*capsella* 'small box or chest', Petron.; to *capsula, capsa*.

15 *casella* 'small house, hut', Ps. Aug.; to *casula, casa*.

*circellus* [11] 'small ring or circle', Apic.; to *circulus, circus*.

*clāvellus* [12] 'tack; wart', Marc. Emp.; to *clāvulus, clāvus*.

*coenācellum* [13] 'dining-room, upper story', Not. Tir.; to *cēnāculum*.

*collicellus* '(small) hill', Gromat.; to *colliculus, collis*.

20 *colucella* (*con-*) [14] 'distaff', gl.; to *colucula* (*conucla*), *colus -ūs*.

*cōtella* [15] 'small stone'; to *cōtula, cōs* (*cōt-*) 'whetstone'.

*crustella* [16] '(small) rind or shell', gl.; to *crustula, crusta*.

*cucurbitella* 'bitter gourd, cupping-glass', Plin. Valer.; to *cucurbitula, cucurbita*.

*culicellus* '(small) gnat', Sept. Ser.; to *culiculus, culex* (*culic-*).

25 *cūpella* 'small vat or cask', Pallad.; to *cūpula, cūpa*.

*digitellus* [17] (*-um*) 'house-leek', Colum.; to *digitulus* '(small) finger', *digitus* 'finger'.

9. M-L 1612; fem. after plant-names (cf. *nigella, maurella*, etc.).

10. CIL 3.10107; the true reading of Pliny NH 36.178 is *capitulum*. Masc. *capitellus* CGL 3.589.21 (gender after *abacus* ?). See Friedrich, Demin. Bild. 59.

11. Neut. *circellum* CGL 3.441.77. Cf. *circelliō*, a derivative (or adaptation of *circumcelliō*): CGL 5.596.41 *circellio monachus per cellas vagans*; see Keller, Volksetym. 45.

12. Fem. *clāvella* 'peg, nail' M-L 1976 (contaminated with *clāva clāvula* 'cudgel; graft').

13. Not. Tir. 92.3 S; for the spelling *coe-* = *cē-*, see Sommer² 78.

14. *Conucella*, like *conucla* (= *coluc[u]la*; M-L 2061), is a dissimilated form; see CGL 3.322.9, where either *col-* or *con-* may be read. *Conucella* occurs as a plant-name in Diosc. (contaminated with *cōnula* 'poley-germander', Teucrium polium Linn.).

15. Medieval Latin; see DuCange s.v. (*cotilla* Gradenwitz, but apparently nowhere attested). *Cōtella*, like *cōtula* (*-us*) 'small stone' Anthim., was a misformation on the consonant stem *cōt-* (cf. *cōticula* Pliny sen.); cf. perhaps *facella*, to *fax -cis*.

16. Gl. Paris. ap. Quicherat, Addenda Lexicis Latinis 62 (Paris, 1862).

17. Masc. Pliny sen. (indeterminate Colum. 12.7.1 *-i cauliculum*); cf. *digitillum* Pliny sen. (*i* by vowel-assimilation ?). See Friedrich, Demin. Bild. 47 and 59; for the semantics cf. perhaps **cantharella* 'mushroom', to *cantharulus* 'tankard'.

*dominellus*[18] 'young man'; to *dominulus* 'petty lord or prince', *dominus* 'lord, master's son'.

**excipellum*[19] 'milk-pail'; to *excipulum* 'vessel for liquids'.

*facella* 'small gold coin', Coripp.; to *facula* '(small) torch', *fax*.

30 *fascinābellum*[20] 'charm, talisman', Not. Tir.; to *fascinābulum*.

**fībella*[21] 'small needle or pin'; to *fībula* 'pin, stitching-needle'.

*fistella* 'small pipe or tube', Pelagon.; to *fistula*.

*flōscellus*[22] 'little flower', Ps. Apul.; to *flōsculus*, *flōs*.

**follicellus*[23] 'small bag or sack'; to *folliculus*, *follis* 'bellows'.

35 *formella*[24] 'form or mould, kind of cheese', Apic.; to *formula*, *forma*.

**fusticellus*[25] 'little stick'; to *fusticulus*, *fustis*.

*globellus*[26] 'small ball or round mass'; to *globulus*, *globus*.

*glomellum*[27] 'small ball (of yarn)', Isid.; to *glomulus*, *glomus -eris*.

*hastella* 'small spear, spit', Adaman.; to *hastula*, *hasta*.

40 *hortellus*[28] 'little garden'; to *hortulus*, *hortus*.

*iūscellum* 'broth, soup', Apic.; to *iūsculum*, *iūs* 'broth, sauce'.

**iuvencellus*[29] 'young ox'; to *iuvenculus*, *iuvencus*.

*lancella*[30] 'small dish or platter'; to *lancula* 'balance', *lanx* 'plate'.

*lumbellus* 'loin', Apic.; to *lumbulus*, *lumbus*.

45 *macella* 'spot, stain', Not. Tir.[31]; to *macula*.

18. Medieval Latin; see DuCange s.v. and cf. M-L 2737 *dominicellus*. For *dominus* in the meaning 'master's son, young man', see Plaut. Capt. prolog. 18 and Cato Agr. 1.4.

19. M-L 2969. *Excipulum* (with primary *-elo-*) is found in Pliny sen.

20. Not. Tir. 112.84 S, to *fascinābulum* Not. Tir. 112.83 S.

21. M-L 3276.

22. Neut. *flōscellum* Itala Exod. 38.16 (translating τὸ ἐνθέμιον 'wreath' of the Septuagint).

23. M-L 3418.

24. Masc. *formellus* 'kind of cheese' Gildas Sapiens (gender after *cāseus*).

25. M-L 3615.

26. M-L 3791.

27. Cf. masc. **glomellus* M-L 3797, to *glomulus* M-L 3800 (both masc. after *globus*). *Globus* and *glomus -eris* were confused: cf. **globuscellum* (M-L 3794) for *globellus* and *glomellum* for **glomuscellum* (cf. perhaps 14.3 **astella*).

28. Medieval Latin; see DuCange s.v.

29. M-L 4640, to *iuvenculus* 'young bullock' Vulg.

30. M-L 4881, to *lancula* (*langula*) 'balance(-pan)' Varro (cf. *lancicula* 'small dish' Arnob.); for the formation cf. *facella* (*facula fax*) and *nucella* (*nucula nux*).

31. Not. Tir. 40.82 S.

**manipellus*[32] 'bundle, sheaf'; to *manipulus* 'handful, bundle'.
*mappella* 'napkin, towel', Isid.; to *mappula, mappa*.
*martellus*[33] '(small) hammer', Isid.; to *marculus* (*mart-*).
*monticellus* 'hill', Gromat.; to *monticulus, mōns* (*monti-*) 'mountain'.
50 *mŭscella* 'fly', Inscr.[34]; to *mŭscula, mŭsca*.
*mūscellus*[35] 'light skiff', gl.; to *mūsculus* 'small boat'.
*nāvicella*[36] 'skiff', Digest.; to *nāvicula, nāvis*.
**nōdellus*[37] '(small) knot'; to *nōdulus, nōdus*.
*nucella*[38] '(small) nut, filbert?', Apic.; to *nucula, nux*.
55 *ofella*[39] 'bite, mouthful', Juv.; to *offula, offa*.
*pannellus*[40] 'piece of cloth'; to *pannulus, pannus*.
*particella*[41] 'small part'; to *particula, pars*.
**pĕdicellus*[42] 'louse'; to *pēdiculus, pēdis*.
**pestellum*[43] 'bolt, bar'; to *pessulum*.

32. M-L 5305.

33. Var. MSS reading *marcellus*; *martellus* in Romance (M-L 5379; *t* for *c* because of analogy to *Mārtius* 'martial' or by hyperurbanism; cf. the reverse in *mūscellum* = *mōstellum*). Neut. *martellum* CGL 3.23.22, to *marclum* 3.204.18 (neut. after other instrumentalia in *-culum*). Back-formation: *marcus* Isid. and Romance (M-L 5348); cf. CGL 5.572.41 *marcus fortior malleus, marculus diminutivum, martellus mediocris malleus*. *Marculus* is from **mal-tlo-s* > with dissimilation **marklos* > with anaptyxis *marculus* (see Walde$^2$ s.v. *marcus*; but *marcellus* is not to be derived phonetically from **marklo-lo-s*, since phonetic development is precluded by the late appearance of the word).

34. See Forcellini s.v. for attestation.

35. Cf. CGL 3.205.28 *muscellus* μῦς (which apparently never means 'boat' in Greek literature) and Isid. 19.1 *musculus curtum navigium* (apparently a translation of Gr. μύδιον 'boat', which was taken for μυίδιον 'mouse'). See Friedrich, Demin. Bild. 59 and 72.

36. Var. MS reading *naucella*, to *naucula* Pliny iun.; cf. the doublets *avicella aucella* (List 6.5).

37. M-L 5943.

38. By-form: CGL 3.316.17 *nucillae* κάρυα ποντικά ('filberts'); for the *i*, cf. 14.8[7] *bucella/bucilla*, and for the formation cf. *facella* to *facula fax* (*nucicla* occurs in Isid.).

39. By-form *offella* (also in Romance: M-L 6042); cf. the doublets *buccella bucella* and see Sommer$^2$ 206.

40. M-L 6200.

41. M-L 6257.

42. M-L 6349 (reading of Petron. 57 is dubious).

43. M-L 6442; for *-st-* = *-ss-*, cf. **astella* to *assula* and the doublets *pustula pussula*.

60 *plăgella* 'bed-curtain', Cael. Aur.; to *plăgula*, *plăga* 'net, curtain'.
*plūmella* '(small) feather', Not. Tir.[44]; to *plūmula*, *plūma*.
*portella* 'street-gate', gl.[45]; to *portula*, *porta* 'gate'.
*prūnella*[46] 'damson plum', gl.; to *prūnulum*, *prūnum*.
*puericellus*[47] 'little boy'; to *puerculus* (Arnob.), *puer*.
65 *pustella* 'pimple', Placit.; to *pustula*.
**rāmuscellum* (**rāmustellum*)[48] 'twig'; to *rāmusculus*, *rāmus*.
*rotella* '(small) wheel', Isid.; to *rotula*, *rota*.
**rutābellum*[49] 'stirring-ladle'; to *rutābulum* (Cato) 'oven-shovel'.
**sabellum*[50] 'sand'; to *sabulum*.
70 *saccellus*[51] 'little bag, purse', Cels.; to *sacculus*, *saccus*.
*sagellum*[52] 'kind of cloth'; to *sagulum* 'military cloak', *sagum* 'mantle'.
**sarcellum*[53] 'weeding-rake'; to *sarculum* 'hoe'.
*scholasticellus* 'scholastic; rhetorician', Cassiod.; to *scholasticulus*, *scholasticus*.
**scrōfellae*[54] 'scrofula'; to *scrōfulae* (Veget. mulomed.).
75 *soccellus* 'low-heeled shoe, slipper', Isid.; to *socculus*, *soccus*.
*spīcella* 'pointed surgical instrument', Placit.; to *spīculum*[55] 'dart', *spīca* 'point'.
*sūbella*[56] 'awl'; to *sūbula*.

44. Not. Tir. 105.85 S.

45. CGL 2.154.18.

46. CGL 3.632.69 *prugella sive prunella*; cf. 3.536.34 *progella* and 3.591.44 *bumella*. The feminine in these corrupt glosses is the converted neut. pl. of **prūnellum* (cf. M-L 6798 **prūna = prūnum*).

47. Gradenwitz, but not in the lexica; the 'double' formation is implicit however in the 'triple' *puericellulus* (see DuCange s.v. *puericellulī*).

48. M-L 7036 and 7037; neut. after *bracchium* 'bough' or *rāmālia* 'sticks'. For the formation cf. **fāgustellum*, to *fāgus -ī*. The ending *-tellum* is for *-cellum* by hyperurbanism (see note 33 supra) or was influenced perhaps by *olīvastellum* (to *olīvaster*). *Rāmusculus* occurs in Hieronymus.

49. M-L 7471.

50. M-L 7481.

51. By-form *sacellus* (Sommer² 206) CGL 3.626.50; neut. *saccellum* CGL 3.194.34 (gender after βαλλάντιον in gloss or *marsūpium* 'purse').

52. Medieval Latin; see DuCange s.v.

53. M-L 7597. *Sarculum* is from **sar-tlom*, to *sariō -īre* 'weed'; see Walde² s. v.

54. M-L 7749. See Walde² s.vv. *scrōfa* and *scrōfula*.

55. Not to *spīcula* 'ground-pine'; *spīculum* became neuter perhaps after *iaculum*.

56. M-L 8356.

*surcellus* [57] ‘branch, twig’; to *surculus* ‘sprig, graft’, *sūrus -ī* masc. ‘branch, stake’.

**tegella* [58] ‘sauce-pan, frying-pan’; to *tegula* ‘frying-pan’.

80 **tomācella* [59] ‘liver-sausage’; to *tomāculum* (Juv.).

*ungella* [60] ‘(small) claw’, Apic.; to *ungula*, *unguis* ‘nail, claw, hoof’.

**vāgīnella* [61] ‘pod, husk’; to *vāgīnula*, *vāgīna* ‘sheath, husk’.

**vannellus* [62] ‘peewit, green plover’; to *vannulus*, *vannus* ‘winnowing-fan’.

*vāscellum* ‘small urn’, gl. [63]; to *vāsculum*, *vās* ‘vessel’.

85 *ventricellus* ‘belly’, gl. [64]; to *ventriculus*, *venter -tris*.

**virgella* [65] ‘small rod, twig’; to *virgula*, *virga*.

*vīticella* ‘clematis’, Isid.; to *vīticula* ‘tendril’, *vītis* ‘vine’.

## List 15: Diminutives in *-illo/ā-* from primitives in *-ulo/ā-*

1 *caudilla* ‘(little) tail’, Not. Tir. [66]; to *caudula*, *cauda*.

*corcillum* ‘(little) heart’, Petron.; to *corculum*, *cor*.

*focillus* ‘(small) hearth’, gl. [67]; to *foculus*, *focus*.

*nepōtillus* (*-a*) ‘grandson (-daughter)’, Inscr. [68]; to *nepōtulus* (*-a*), *nepōs* masc. and fem.

57. Masc. M-L 8472; cf. neut. *surcellum* Apic. (gender after *bracchium* ‘bough’), to *surculum* Venant., and the further by-form *surcillus* Plin. Valer. *Surcellus* has no precise morphological parallel (cf. perh. *puerculus*; or were *surcellus surculus* induced by **sarcellum sarculum* ?).

58. M-L 8614, to *tegula* M-L 8613.2 (= *teganum* < Gr. τάγηνον ‘frying-pan’).

59. M-L 8771 (neut. pl. as fem. ?).

60. Var. MSS reading *unguella*. For the formation *ungula* Ennius (cf. *unguiculus* ‘finger-nail’ Plaut.), cf. perh. *cōtula* = *cōticula*; is it possible that *ungula* was felt to be the diminutive of *uncus* ‘hook, hooked’? *Ungula* acquired fem. gender in order to avoid homonymity with *ungulus* ‘finger-ring’.

61. M-L 9123, to *vāgīnula* ‘husk’ Pliny sen.

62. M-L 9140; the meaning ‘wohl nach der Bewegung des Federbusches, die mit dem Schütteln eines Siebes (*vannulus* 9143) verglichen wird.’

63. CGL 2.433.14; cf. *vascella* 3.22.41 (fem. after σκευή in gloss or perh. neut. pl. as fem.).

64. CGL 3.14.49; also Romance (M-L 9208).

65. M-L 9363.

66. Not. Tir. 96.32 S.

67. See Forcellini s.v. (Onom. Lat. Gr. *focillus* ἐσχαρίς; not in CGL).

68. See Forcellini s.vv. for attestation.

5 *porcillāca* ' portulaca ', Pliny sen.; to *portulāca* [69] (Varro).
*pūnctillum* [70] ' point, dot, spot ', Solin.; to *pūnctulum*, *pūnctum*.
*verticillus* [71] ' whorl of a spindle ', Pliny sen.; to *verticulus* ' whorl ', *vertex -icis* ' whirl, whirlpool '.

§ **43**. For reasons given in the commentary to List 7 it is impossible to believe that the above seven diminutives in *-illo/ā-* owed their suffixes to phonetic changes. They were doubtless modeled after the earlier diminutives in *-illo/ā-*, which show morphological and also semantic similarities. Thus *caudilla* and *corcillum* may have been influenced by *papilla* and *ōscillum* (7.13 and 12), or *caudilla* even by *cōdicillus* (7.5), since *cauda* (*cōda*) and *cōdex* (*caudex*) were confused [72]; *nepōtillus -a*, like *mamilla* (7.10), was perhaps closely associated with proper names in *-illo/ā-*; with *pūnctillum* cf. *cōnspicillum* (9.4); *verticillus* may have been influenced by *cillō -ere* ' move ', a verb abstracted [73] in the popular speech from words such as *ōscillum* and *mōtacilla* (10.14).

§ **44**. Similarly, it is impossible to assign a phonetic origin to the many diminutives in *-ello/ā-* which have been grouped in List 14, first because most of them were too late in origin [74] to admit of such development, and secondly because the earlier diminutives (List 6) provided adequate basis for the later types of formation. Thus *barcella*, *buccella*, *caccabellus*, *circellus*, *crustella*, *formella*, *ofella*, *portella*, *rotella*, and *soccellus* had morphological parallels in *arcella*, *cistella*, *cucumella*, *locellus*, *porcellus -a*, and *sportella*; similarly, *botellus*, *bubella*,

69. See Walde² s.v. (a derivative of *portula*). *Porcillāca* (also *porcilāca*) was perhaps influenced by *porc(ellus)* or *porcilia* ' sow '.

70. The *ū* (long before *-nct-*) became short in Late Latin by influence of *pŭngō*; see M-L 6847.

71. To *verticulus* ' whorl ' M-L 9255; cf. also **vertibellum* ' basket for yarn ' M-L 9251, which was made with reference to *verticulus* or *verticillus*. Cf. also CGL 3.322.5 *verticillus* σφόνδυλος ' vertebra ' (3.366.45 *verticellus*), to *verticulus* ' joint ' Solin., and CGL 2.435.58 *verticillum* σπόνδυλος (3.21.8 *verticellum*), to *verticulum* ' joint ' Cael. Aurel.; these words are all to be referred to *verticula* Lucil. = *vertebra*, the gender of which was influenced by that of corresponding Greek terms (cf. σφόνδυλος, ἄρθρον, ἰσχίον ' hip-joint ').

72. Cf. the misformation *cōdicula* ' tail ' Apic. (as though to **cōdex -icis* ' *tail ').

73. See Hofmann s.v. *cillō* and cf. M-L 1914 **cillicare* ' bewegen '.

74. With the exception of a handful of first occurrences in Celsus, Columella, Petronius, Juvenal, Martial, Apuleius, and some inscriptions of uncertain date, the majority of the diminutives in *-ello/a-* of List 14 were formed apparently during and after the third Christian century. See Baehrens, Sprach. Komment. z. vulgärl. App.

**fībella*, *macella*, and *sūbella* may be equated morphologically with *angellus*, *fābella*, *matella*, *ocellus*, and *tabella*. The treatment of the suffix *-cello/ā-* may be compared to some extent with the treatment of the same ending in the Republican period: *brevicellus*, *collicellus*, **follicellus*, *monticellus*, *particella*, *ventricellus*, and *vīticella* have analogues in *aucella* and *mollicellus*, while *agnicellus* and *puericellus* resemble *blandicella*; the ending *-cellus* in *scholasticellus* has an exact equivalent in *rūsticellus*. **Acucella*, *calicellus*, *colucella*, and *culicellus* have no exact parallels among the earlier diminutives [75] (cf. *anicilla* with the first and third, and *cōdicillus* with the second and fourth).

**§ 45.** It is apparent that the suffix *-ello/ā-* was very frequent, not to say preponderant, during the later or Imperial period. This fact perhaps accounts for the process of leveling which may be observed to a certain degree in the examples before us: (1) the suffix *-cello-* now attaches to nominatives in *-s* in place of *-cillo-*: cf. *flōscellus*, *iūscellum*, *mūscellus*, **rāmuscellum*, and *vāscellum* with the earlier words *ōscillum* and *mōscillī*; (2) the ending *-cello/ā-* has supplanted *-cillo/ā-* as the 'double' diminutive suffix of *i-* or *u*-stems (true or supposed): cf. the later diminutives **acucella*, *baticilla* (17.3), *brevicellus*, *collicellus*, *colucella*, **follicellus*, **fusticellus*, *monticellus*, *nāvicella*, *particella*, **pedicellus*, *ventricellus*, and *vīticella* with the earlier formations *anicilla*, *aucella*, *cesticillus*, *mollicellus*, *opicillum*, *ōricilla*, and *pēnicillus*; and (3) the instrumental suffixes *-bulo/ā-* and *-culo-* now consistently show diminutives in *-bello/ā-* and *-cello-*: cf. *coenācellum*, *fascinābellum*, **fībella*, *marcellus* (*martellus*), **rutābellum*, **sarcellum*, *sūbella*, and **tomācella* (?) with the earlier instrumentalia *bacillum*, *crepitācillum*, *fābella*, *pōcillum*, and *tabella* (?).

Probi 121-2, who reaches much the same conclusion and speculates on the reasons for the comparative restriction of analogous formations during the earlier period of the language.

75. The formations *cōtella* (for **cōticella*), *facella*, *glomellum*, *lancella*, *nucella*, *surcellus*, and *ungella* have analogues in the Republican *avillus* (if to *ovis*), *fracillī*, *mellilla*, and *murmurillum*. *Nucella* perhaps ousted the less easy **nucicella*; for *glomellum*, *surcellus*, and *ungella*, see notes 27, 57, and 60 supra.

# XI. IMPERIAL DIMINUTIVES IN *-ELLO/Ā-* AND *-ILLO/Ā-* WITH NO ANTECEDENT FORMS IN *-ULO/Ā-* EXTANT

## List 16 : Diminutives in *-ello/ā-* with no antecedent forms in *-ulo/ā-* extant

1 **albicellus*[1] 'whitish'; to *albus*.
*aristella*[2] '(small) ear of grain'; to *arista*.
**asperella*[3] 'shave-grass'; to *asper* 'rough'.
*brevellus* 'brief, short', Virg. gram.; to *brevis*.
5 *calamellus* 'small reed, *shawm'[4], Arnob. iun.; to *calamus*.
*caldellus* 'small vessel for heated liquids', Cael. Aurel.; to *caldus* (*calidus*) 'hot' or *caldum* 'hot drink'.
*campellus* '(small) field, territory', Conc. Aurel. (541 A.D.); to *campus*.
*campicellum*[5] '(small) field, plot of ground', Gromat.; to *campus*.
*cappella*[6] '(small) mantle; chapel'; to *cappa* 'mantle with hood'.
10 *cappellus* 'hat, cap', gl.[7]; to *cappa* 'mantle with hood'.
*cascabellus*[8] 'small bell'; to *cascabus* 'caccabus grandis'.
*caucellus*[9] 'cup'; to *caucus* 'goblet', Hieron.
*cavellum*[10] 'basket'; probably to *cavum* 'hollow, hole'.
*cīmicella*[11] '(small) bug'; to *cīmex -icis*.

1. M-L 322.
2. Thes. Nov. Latin. (ed. Mai) 48.
3. M-L 709; fem. after other botanical terms (*lapella*, *malvella*).
4. For the meaning '*shawm' see M-L 1484.2.
5. Masc. in Romance (M-L 1561); neut. *-um* after *arvum* or *territōrium*.
6. M-L 1644, to *cappa* Isid. and Romance (M-L 1642).
7. CGL 5.522.21 *cappellus galerus*; masc. after *galērus* or *pilleus*.
8. M-L 1731, to CGL 2.571.34 *cascabus caccabus grandis*; *cascabus* was perhaps a contamination of *cassus* 'empty, hollow' (or *cassis* 'helmet') and *caccabus* 'pot'. For the semantics of 'pot' > 'bell', cf. the development of *campāna* (see Hofmann s.v.).
9. M-L 1772; see Hofmann s. v. *caucum*.
10. Medieval Latin; cf. DuCange s.v. *cavellus* 'a kind of tribute money', and see Hofmann s. v. *caulae*.
11. M-L 1916; fem. as a 'Kosewort für kleine Kinder'?

15 **cipellus*[12] '(small) post, *halter'; to *cippus* 'stake'.
*cīsellum*[13] 'sharp edge, chisel'; to *in-cīsum* (PPP of *incīdō* 'cut into').
*cotella*[14] 'priest's robe'; to *cotta* 'mantle, garment'.
*coterellī* (*cotarellī*)[15] 'armed brigands, mercenaries'; to *cot(h)erius* 'superintendent of an estate'.
**crepicella*[16] 'rattle'; to *crepitus* (PPP of *crepō* 'rattle, clatter').
20 *dominella*[17] 'young woman'; to *domina* 'mistress, lady'.
*dominicella*[18] 'girl'; to *domina*.
*dominicellus*[18] 'young man'; to *dominus* 'master, master's son'.
*duella* 'two sextulae, third of an uncia', Remm. de ponderibus; to *duo* 'two'.
*exagella* 'small weight or balance', Ennod.; to *exagium*[19] 'weight, balance' (Late Latin).
25 **fāganellus*[20] 'linnet, goldfinch'; to *fāgus -ī* 'beech-tree'.
**fāgustellum*[21] '(small) beech-tree'; to *fāgus -ī*.
**fīlicella*[22] '(small) thread'; to *fīlum*.
**flōriscellus*[23] '(little) flower'; to *flōs flōris*.
*flūmicellum*[24] 'small stream', Gromat.; to *flūmen -inis*.

12. M-L 1934, with the meaning 'horse-collar, hame' in Romance; with **cipellus*, cf. *ofella* for *offella*.

13. M-L 1474.2.

14. Medieval Latin; see DuCange s.v. and cf. M-L 4747 *kotta* (Frankish) 'garment'

15. Medieval Latin; see DuCange s.vv. *cotarelli* and *cotherius*.

16. M-L 2315 (> Fr. *crécelle* 'rattle'); perh. also to *crepō*, with the ending *-icella* derived from diminutives of *i*-stems (*particella*; cf. also *vert-icillus*, as though to *vertō*).

17. Medieval Latin; see DuCange s.v. and cf. *dominellus* (14.27) and its note.

18. M-L 2737; not to *dominica* (*-us*) 'Sunday' M-L 2738. For the formation cf. *puericellus*, to *puer*.

19. *Exagella* is fem. after *lībra* or *lancula*.

20. M-L 3141; the formation is curious: perhaps the ending *-anello/ā-* detached itself by misdivision from *raphanella* 'radish' (to *raphanus*), or was the result of the contamination of *-ăbello/ā-* (*cascăbellus*) with the ending *-nello/ā-* (*campānella*, *dominellus*; cf. also **portīnellum*, to *porta*).

21. M-L 3146; for the formation cf. **rāmustellum* (14.66), to *rāmus -ī*. The ending *-stellum* was induced perhaps by *olīvastellum* 'olive-tree', to *olīvaster*.

22. M-L 3299; the word is fem. perhaps after *fimbria* 'fringe' or *tēlae* 'warp-threads'.

23. M-L 3381; a misformation (cf. 14.33 *flōscellus*) assisted perhaps by *calic-ellus*, to *calix calic-is*, or, equally likely, *-iscellus* was a contamination of Gr. -ισκο- and Lat. *-ello-*.

24. A misformation; cf. perhaps *†baticilla* for **batidicilla*, to *batis -idis*. See Thes. Ling. Lat. s. v., where emendation to *fluvicellum* is proposed.

30 **genabella*[25] '*hinge'; to *genū* 'knee'.
**globuscellum*[26] 'small ball (of yarn)'; to *globus -ī* 'ball'.
**glomiscellum*[27] 'small ball'; to *glomus -eris*.
*lapella*[28] 'hound's-tongue' (bot.), Isid.; to *lappāgō* 'spurge', or *lappa* 'bur'.
*malvella*[29] 'mallows', Isid.; to *malva* 'mallows'.
35 **manabella* (**manibella*)[30] 'grip, handle'; to *manus* 'hand'.
**manicella*[31] '(small) sleeve'; to *manica* 'sleeve of the tunic'.
**margella*[32] 'edge, border'; to *margō -inis*.
*mōrellus* 'nightshade' (bot.), gl.[33]; to *mōrion* 'nightshade'.
*morsellus*[34] 'bit of food, morsel, piece'; to *morsum* 'bit' or *morsus -ūs* 'bite'.
40 *mūscella*[35] 'young mule, pet donkey'; to **mūsus* 'mule'.
**myrtella* (**mur-*)[36] 'myrtle'; to *myrta* (*mur-*) = *myrtus* fem.
*pagella*[37] 'square and liquid measure'; perhaps to *pāgus* 'district'.
**pānellus*[38] 'thread'; to *pānus* 'thread wound upon the bobbin'.
*pānicellus* 'small loaf of bread', Plin. Valer.; to *pānis* 'bread'.

25. M-L 3728 (> OFr. *genevelle* 'door-hinges'); for the formation cf. **manabel-al* to *manus*: the ending *-abella* (*ă* ?) was perhaps a contamination of the dimin.-instrumental suffix seen in *tabella* and *sūbella* with the ending *-ăbello-* of *caccăbellus* (to *caccăbus*).

26. M-L 3794; for the formation see 14.38 *glomellum* and its note.

27. M-L 3799; for the formation cf. perhaps **flōriscellus* (see note 23 supra).

28. Cynoglossum officinale; see Isid. 17.9.66 (*lappella* cod. D) and cf. CGL 3.537.29 *cinglosa id est lingua canina id est lappella*. See Sofer, Glotta 16.5. With the relation of *lapella* to *lappāgō* (*lappa*) cf. perh. *arilla*(*tor*), to *arrabō* (*arra*; see 9.1 and note).

29. See Sofer, Glotta 16.42.

30. M-L 5280; for the formation cf. **genabella* (note 25 supra), and *manibul* 'plow-handle' Varro.

31. M-L 5302.

32. M-L 5352; for the formation cf. *flūmicellum* for **flūminicellum*.

33. CGL 3.630.40, referred incorrectly by Meyer-Lübke (5680 b) to *maurus* 'Moor, black'; probably not to be equated with CGL 3.629.35 *scumaria id est morella id est aquatica* (3.592.52 *maurella herba ficaria*): see CGL vol. 6 s.v. *maura* and vol. 7 s.v. *uva lupina*.

34. Medieval Latin; see DuCange s.v. *morsellus* (*morsillus*).

35. M-L 5767, to **mūsus* 'mule' (M-L 5784); the formation was influenced by *mūscella* 'fly' and *mūscellus* 'small boat'. Morphologically, cf. *surcellus* (14.78), to *surus -ī*.

36. M-L 5802, to *myrta* (*mur-*) M-L 5801.

37. M-L 6144; fem. after other nouns denoting measures.

38. M-L 6193 a.

45 *pīnicellus*[39] 'pine-cone', Plin. Valer.; to *pīnus -ūs* 'pine-tree'.
*pisellum*[40] 'pea'; to *pisum*.
*plāgella*[41] '(slight) wound'; to *plāga* 'blow'.
**portīnellum*[42] 'small door'; to *porta* 'gate'.
**pullicella*[43] 'girl'; to *pullus -a* 'young of an animal'.
50 *pultrella*[44] 'foal'; to *poledrus* 'foal'.
**pungellus*[45] 'prick, sting'; to *pungō -ere*.
*raphanella*[46] 'radish'; to *raphanus* 'radish'.
**rētella*[47] 'net'; to *rēte*.
**senticella*[48] 'bramble-bush'; to *sentis*.
55 *strūmella* 'small tumor', Marc. Emp.; to *strūma* 'scrofulous tumor'.
*suellus*[49] 'porker', Adelh. gram.; to *sūs sŭis* 'pig'.
*vervella*[50] 'sheep', gl.; to *vervēx -ēcis* 'wether'.
*viscellum*[51] 'veal broth (made from the viscera)', Cael. Aurel.; to *viscus -eris* 'entrails'.

### List 17: Diminutives in *-illo/ā-* with no antecedent forms in *-ulo/ā-* extant

1 *agercillus* 'small field', Osbern; to *ager*.[52]

39. Masc. after *nucleus* or *cōnus*.
40. M-L 6534.
41. Thes. Nov. Latin. (ed. Mai) 473.
42. M-L 6676; for the ending cf. note 20 supra: **portīnellum* apparently owes its formation partially to a contamination of *postīcum* 'postern' with *portella* (14.62).
43. M-L 6819; cf. *pullus* and *pullulus* 'dove, chick' as terms of endearment.
44. Medieval Latin; see DuCange s.v. *poledrus* 'pullus equinus' and cf. M-L 6825 **pulliter*, **pulletru*, *pullitru* 'Füllen' (contaminated with *pullus* 'foal').
45. M-L 6851.
46. M-L 7050; fem. after *rādīx*.
47. M-L 7255 a; fem. after *plaga* 'hunting-net' or after *rēte*, which was sometimes feminine (Varro). For the formation cf. *brevellus*.
48. M-L 7823.
49. A nonce-formation; trisyllabic after *suīllus* 'of swine' or comparable to *brevellus*.
50. Var. MSS reading *verbella* (cf. M-L 9270); fem. after *ovis*. Not to be derived with Wölfflin, ALL 12.303, from **vervēc'la* (*-kl-* remained or developed an anaptyctic vowel: Sommer[2] 228), but to be reckoned as an analogical formation like *suellus*. See CGL 2.416.24 = GL 1.553.28.
51. Trisyllabic after *iūscellum* 'broth' (14.41) or supplanting a difficult **viscuscellum*.
52. During the Imperial period *-cello/ā-* apparently attached to nominatives in *-s* (see § 45 supra) and *-cillo-* to nominatives in *-r* (*agercillus* and 15.2 *corcillum*).

*arillus* 'stone of the grape', gl.[53]; perh. to *āreō* 'be dry or withered'.

*baticilla*[54] 'sea-fennel'; to *batis -idis* fem. 'sea-fennel'.

*būgillō -ōnis* 'ground-pine?', Marc. Emp.; perh. to *bulgāgō*[55] 'spikenard'.

5 *fītilla* (*frī-*) 'gruel (used in rituals)', Sen.; perh. to *frīctus*[56], PPP of *frīgō -ere* 'roast'.

*frāctillum* 'stone-crusher', gl.[57]; to *frāctus*, PPP of *frangō* 'crush'.

*fritilla* 'wryneck', gl.[58]; to *fritinniō -īre* 'twitter, chirp'.

*fritillus*[59] 'dice-box', Sen.; perh. with reference to the sound of the shaken dice to *frit* 'spica... minus quam granum' (Varro).

*obilla* 'a kind of hat', Apic.; to *obba* 'vessel with a broad base'.

10 *pabillus* 'wheelbarrow', Lamprid.; to *pabō -ōnis*[60] (Isid.).

*plōrātillus*[61] 'whimpering'; to *plōrātus -ūs* 'wailing'.

*purpurilla*[62] 'brothel', Isid.; to *purpura* 'purple'.

*tempestillus* 'opportune', Apul.[63]; to *tempestus* (Paul.-Fest.) = *tempestīvus*.

*turturilla*[64] 'turtle-dove, cocky person', Sen.; to *turtur*.

53. See Löwe, Prodr. 432, and CGL 6.17 s.v. *acilli* (*arilli* cod. and Romance: M-L 646; *acini* coni. Bücheler).

54. M-L 990; for **batidicilla* (unlike the phonetic *lapillus* < **lapid-los*).

55. The loss of *l* in *būgillō* would then be dissimilatory; for the formation cf. *lapella* (16.33), to *lappāgō*. The meaning 'ground-pine' (= *abiga*, an herb used to effect abortion) may be arbitrary, inasmuch as *būgillō* might have been associated with *bulga* 'bag', in the *sermo castrensis* also 'belly, womb'; cf. Hofmann s.vv. *būgillō* and *bulga*.

56. Cf. Paucker, KZ 23.178 (List C. 27) and M-L 3504 **frīcta* 'fritter'; the loss of *r* in *f(r)ītilla* was dissimilatory; for *-t-* = *-ct-*, cf. *fītilla* (18.36) = *fictīle*. Otherwise Walde² s.v. (to *fingō*, in view of Goth. *daigs* 'dough').

57. CGL 5.599.43 *fractillum ad frangendum piper* (= *lapis Albānus* 'peperino'?); cf. *frāctāria -ae* 'machine for crushing flint' Pliny sen.

58. CGL 2.334.3 *fritilla* (*frutilla* cod. e, after *frutex* 'bush'?) ἴυγξ; for the formation cf. *fringilla* (9.6).

59. Neut. *fritillum* CGL 2.73.44 and 5.457.52 (gender after *pyrgum* 'dice-box' in gloss); Walde² s.v. refers *fritillus* to *fritinniō* 'chirp'.

60. For the formation cf. **margella* (16.37), to *margō -inis*.

61. Attested by Hofmann s.v. *cavilla*.

62. Cf. CGL 4.153.8 purpurilla locus extra portam, ubi scorta prostrant: dictum est autem vocabulum quod matronae stola, libertinae toga, prostitutae purpurea veste uterentur; see Bücheler, ALL 2.117, and cf. List 18.67 *turturilla*.

63. A nonce-word: Apul. Meta. 8.2 (ed. Vliet; Teubner, 1897). It is conceivable also that *tempestillus* (ī) was made on a **tempestīnus* (cf. 4.12 *rēgīllus*).

64. Cf. M-L 9010.2 **turturella*; for the formation cf. 9.11 *murmurillum*.

15 *vespillō -ōnis* (*vis-*) 'pall-bearer', Mart.; to *vespa* 'pall-bearer'. [65]
*vītilla* (*mea*) '(my) life, dear one', Inscr. [66]; to *vīta*.

§ **46**. The remarks appended to Lists 8 and 9 are apposite in this connection also. It may be noted here that the examples of Lists 16 and 17 show an increased use of the suffixes *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* as independent formative elements with practically the same semantic function as the 'single' suffix in *-ulo/ā-*. Any original semantic distinction or gradation inhering in the two types of diminutive suffix must necessarily have been obscured in the course of time and usage; and this theoretical assumption is corroborated by the following statistics, which show a progression in the leveling of the 'double' *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* with the 'single': for the Republic there are 45 occurrences of *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* used as a 'double' suffix, and 27 of the same endings used as a 'single' suffix (that is, without an antecedent *-ulo/ā-*) [67]; for the Empire there are 94 instances of *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* used as a 'double' suffix, and 74 of the same endings used as a 'single' suffix. Thus for the whole period of the language the use of the 'double' suffix is almost counterbalanced by that of the 'single' (139: 101).

65. Or perhaps *vespillō* was a euphemism suggestive of *vesper* 'evening' (cf. 10.28 *tranquillus*): Isid. 20.10.5 *unde et permansit ut mortuos faces antecedant*; but see Walde² s.v. and Muller, Altit. Wörterb. 541, on this puzzling word. Keller, Lat. Etym. 127-8, thinks the word an adaptation of *vespertīliō* 'bat', as 'is qui vespertino potissimum tempore conspicitur vel munere suo fungitur.'

66. See Forcellini s.v. for attestation; *-illa* was induced by analogy to proper names in *-illo/ā-* (cf. 15.4 *nepōtillus -a*).

67. I have purposely excluded from this count the 'single' *-ello/ā-* and *-īllo/ā-* of *r-* and *n*-stems as not being illustrative of the grafting of these endings as independent elements on stems of a great variety (see Lists 8, 9, 16 and 17). An indiscriminate count of all instances of the 'single' suffix in both periods of the language totals 223 examples of the latter as against 139 instances of the 'double' suffix.

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# XII. MISCELLANEA OF THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

## List 18: Miscellanea of the Imperial period, including non-diminutives with *-ell-* and *-ill-*, words not to be found in the lexica and other sources, and words whose primitives cannot be determined

1 *antella* and *postella* = *antēla*, *antilēna* ' breast strap ' and *postēla*, *postilēna* ' crupper '.[1]
*argella*[2] ' mud-hut ': perh. a Dacian word.
*aspergillum*: false reading of CGL 2.404.22.
*assequella* = *assequēla* ' succession '.
5 **atillus*[3] = *attilus* ' sturgeon '.
**baccellu*[4] ' pod, husk ': hardly to *bacca* ' berry '.
*bargilla* = *bargila*[5] ' scrip, bag '.
*basella*: false reading of Pallad. 1.18.2.
*bobellum*[6] = *būbīle* ' cattle-stall '.
10 *brabilla*[7] = Gr. βράβυλος ' wild-plum tree ' (fem.).
*camellus -a* = *camēlus -a* ' camel '.
*camomilla* = *chamaemēlon* (χαμαίμηλον) ' camomile '; neut. pl. as fem.
*cannamellis*[8] ' sugar-cane ': from *canna* and *mel*.
*capillor -ōris* ' species augurii ' (Serv.): to *capiō* (?).
15 *cardellus*[9] = *carduēlis* ' goldfinch '.
*carnellus*[10] ' kind of vehicle ': to?

1. See Isid. 20.16.4, CGL 5.589.22, and Hofmann s.v. *antilēna*.
2. M-L 636 (cf. 10.3 *argīlla* ' potter's clay ' ?).
3. M-L 766.2.
4. M-L 864.
5. See DuCange s.v. *bargilla* and cf. CGL 4.115.8 *mantica bargila*.
6. CGL 5.347.12; a contamination of *bŏvīle*, *būbīle*, and *būbellus* ' of oxen '; for *bovilla* see 4.5 *bovīllus* and its note.
7. Var. form *brabyla*; see 10.16 *murmillō* and its note.
8. M-L 1602.
9. M-L 1686.
10. See Du Cange s.v. 1. *carnellus* (*carrus* plus *-nello-* as in 16.48 **portīnellum* ??).

*carnellus* [11] 'bastion' : to ?
*carnilla*? : Gradenwitz, but apparently not attested.
*carpella* [12] 'saddle-bow': to *carpentum* 'wagon' (?).
*cartellus* [13] 'basket' : adaptation of *cartallus* (< Gr. κάρταλ(λ)ος).
*caupil(l)us* [14] 'small boat' = *caupulus* (?).
*caupōnella* 'tavern' : Gradenwitz, but apparently not attested.
*centipelliō* 'third stomach of ruminants' : compound of *centi-* (*centum*) and *pellis*.
*cillō -ōnis* = *cīlo -ōnis* [15] 'capite angusto, cui hoc contingit in partu'.
*cillus* = Gr. κίλλος 'ass'.
*circelliō* : see 14.16 *circellus* and note.
*coillum* = Gr. κοῖλον 'inner court of a house, atrium' (cf. *cavaedium*).
*condrilla* (*chon-*) = Gr. χονδρίλη, κονδρίλλη 'endive'.
*corcodrillus* [16] = *crocodīlus* 'crocodile'.
*corticellus* '(small) shell or hull': Gradenwitz, but apparently not attested.
*crostella* [17] 'calta, marigold' : ?
*cruppellariī* 'harnessed combatants among the Gauls' : Gallic word.
*domicella* : Gradenwitz, but apparently not attested.
*domicellus* : Gradenwitz, but apparently not attested.
*fīcēlla* < *fīcēdula* [18] 'the fig-pecker, becafico'.
*fītilla* [19] = *fictīle* (?) 'earthen vessel'.
**gabella* [20] 'bundle of sticks, fagot' : Gallic ?
*gillō* (*gellō*) [21] 'cooler for liquids': probably to *gelidus* 'cool'.

11. See DuCange s.v. 2. *carnellus*.
12. CGL 5.354.9 (*corbellus* coni. Götz).
13. See CGL 5.349.41 and cf. M-L 1722 *cartallus*.
14. Cf. Isid. 19.1.25 Lind. *caupulus* (varr. *-ilus* and *-illus*) and CGL 5.614.13 *caupilus*. See Hofmann s.v. *caupulus* and cf. M-L 1780 *caupulus*.
15. See Hofmann s.v. *cīlō*.
16. See Keller, Volksetym. 54.
17. See CGL 5.617.43; constructed from *cro(cus)* 'saffron' plus the ending *-stello/ā-* seen in some botanical terms (*oleastellus*, *pīnastellus*, etc.) ??
18. See Leumann 172. IV.D.
19. CGL 2.479.31 *fitilla olla* (does *-illa* represent pl. *-īlia* or *-īle* with expressive gemination and gender after *olla* ?).
20. M-L 3626.
21. See Anthologia Latina (ed. Riese) 117.16 and Niedermann, Ĕ und Ĭ 65; for the final syllable cf. perh. *matelliō* 'pot', to 6.14 *matella*.

*

*girgillus*[22] (not *gyrgillus*) 'water-wheel': adaptation of Hebr. *galgál* 'water-wheel'.

40 *grātilla -ae*[23] 'a kind of cake': made (momentarily?) on *grātus* through the influence of *placenta* 'cake' and Gr. ἀρεστήρ 'sacrificial cake'?

*gravescella* 'grave sidus anni': corrupt reading of CGL 5.24.19.[24]

*grillus* = Gr. γρύλλος 'cricket'.

*hillum* = *hīlum* 'whit, trifle'.

*lepadelliō -onis* 'mussel': to *lepas -adis* 'limpet', but hardly a diminutive formation.[25]

45 *lībrilla* 'instrumenta bellica' Paul.-Fest. 116.5 M = *lībrīlia* (Lind. 103.9), to *lībrō -āre* 'hurl'.

*malomellum* = *melimēlum* (μελίμηλον) 'honey-apple'; contaminated with *mālum* 'apple' and *mel* (*melleus*).

*margella*[26] 'pearl': to *margarīta* 'pearl'?

*mātercella*: Gradenwitz, but apparently not attested.

*mella -ae* 'honey-water, mead': from *mel* (stem *mell-*).

50 *metella* (*metalla*) 'war-engine': hardly to *metallum* 'mine, metal'.[27]

*muscella* 'knee-pan'[28]: hardly to *mūsculus* 'muscle'.

*nītēlla* = *nītēdula* 'dormouse'[29]; cf. *fīcēlla*.

*oleomella* 'fruit-tree of Syria': from *oleum* and *mel*.

*orbitella*: Gradenwitz, but apparently not attested.

55 *orthogillus* 'having stiff limbs': = Gr. ὀρθόκυλλος for ὀρθόκωλος?

**paratella*[30] 'the plant parella or patience': to ?

*pinnicillum* = *pēnicillum* (7.14[84]) 'brush': contaminated with *pinna* 'feather'.

22. Not to *gīrus* (*gȳrus*) 'circle' with Isidore: Orig. 20.15. 2 Lind.: girgillus quod in giro vertatur: est enim lignum in transversa pertica mobile ex quo funis cum situla vel utre in puteum dimittitur auriendae aquae causa; see Cuny, MSL 19.199, and Sofer, Glotta 16.40-1. The original **galgillus* > with dissimilation **gargillus* > *girgillus* through popular association with *gīrus*.

23. See Arnob. 7.230; gender after *placenta -ae*, which was popularly referred to *placēns* (: *placēre*; see Keller, Volksetym. 83), as Gr. ἀρεστήρ was to ἀρέσκω 'conciliate'.

24. Deuerling's emendation seems very probably correct: *gravastellas graves, id est annis*; see 1.16 *grāvastellus*.

25. See Leumann 176.II.A.2, and cf. *rubelliō* 'a kind of fish'.

26. See CGL 2.353.36 and cf. M-L 5353.

27. See Walde[2] s.v. *metella*.

28. Cf. CGL 2.373.29 *muscella* μουλάριον (cf. 5.298.22); the result of the contamination of Gr. μύλη 'mill; knee-pan' with *mūlus* = **mūsus* (M-L 5784) 'mule'??

29. See Walde[2] s.v. *nītēdula*.

30. M-L 6230.

*postella* : see *antella* above.
*prella* = *prēlum* ' wine-press, oil-press ' ; neut. pl. as fem. sing. ?
60 **semella*[31] ' sole of the foot ' : to ?
*siscella* (Gradenwitz) ? To CGL 5.392.53 *sisca snidstreo* ' carline thistle ' ??
*squāmilla* : Gradenwitz, but apparently not attested.
*stēlla* = *stēlliō -ōnis* ' newt ' (from *stēlla* ' star ').
*suarillum* : Gradenwitz, but apparently not attested ; = *suīle* ' pig-sty ' ?
65 *tēctillum* : Gradenwitz, but apparently not attested.
*tesellus* (Gradenwitz) = 11.17 *tessella* ?
*turturilla*[32] ' bawdy-house ' : to ?
*vellum* ' populum ' : corrupt reading of CGL 4.295.9.[33]

31. M-L 7801.
32. Cf. CGL 5.612.42 turturilla ita dictus locus in quo corruptelae fiebant, quod ibi turturi opera daretur, id est panem (*i. e.* peni), and see Nettleship, Journal of Philology 20.187 (*tutunilla*, to *Tūtūnus* ' Priapus ', proposed, in view of a var reading *tuturilla*). Cf. 17.12 *purpurilla*.
33. Read perhaps *velum peplum* with Landgraf, ALL 9.442.

## XIII. CONCLUSIONS

§ **47**. In the course of this study we have attempted to show :

(1) that the diminutive suffix *-ello/ā-* arose by phonetic processes from *-(e)r-elo/ā-*, *-en-elo/ā-*, and *-el-elo/ā-* (Lists 1, 2, and 6) ; that the suffix *-illo/ā-* arose phonetically from *-no-* and *-ni-* plus diminutive *-elo/ā-*, and also from stems in *-l-* plus *-elo/ā-* (Lists 3 and 5) ; and that the ending *-īllo/ā-* was the phonetic product of *-īn-elo/ā-* (List 4) ;

(2) that the 'double' suffix *-(c)ello/ā-* originated by analogical processes from such words as *catellus* and *vitellus* (to the non-diminutives *catulus* and *vitulus*), where *-ello-* is strictly the 'single' diminutive ending ; and that the 'double' suffix *-(c)illo/ā-* was certainly analogical in formation (Lists 6 and 7).

§ **48**. We have seen that even in the earlier period of the language the endings *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-* detached themselves from the *-no-*, *-ro-*, and *-lo-* stems where they had arisen by phonetic processes, and that they had early become independent formative elements which could be attached to a variety of stems. This process is clearly visible in the words of Lists 8 and 9 and especially in the many corresponding formations of the later period of the language (Lists 16 and 17).

§ **49**. In the Republican period the number of diminutives in *-ello/ā-* is almost counterbalanced by that of formations in *-ī̆llo/ā-* (85 : 82) ; in the later period of the language *-ello/ā-* (especially the 'double' *-ello/ā-*) was highly productive [1] of new formations made after the model of the types established earlier by phonetic and analogical processes, while only a handful of new formations in *-ī̆llo/ā-* are attested for the Empire (compare Lists 11, 12, 14, and 16 with Lists 13, 15, and 17 ; the count stands 166 : 29).

1. This fact squares with one's impression that at least in French the suffix *-ello/ā-* has many more representatives than the suffix *-illo/ā-* (types *chapelle* < *cappella*, *chapeau* < *cappellus*, and *cheveu* < *capillus*). For the endings *-ello/ā-* and *-cello/ā-* in Romanic languages, see W. Meyer-Lübke, Grammaire des Langues Romanes 2.591-4 and 615-7 (Paris, 1895).

# XIV. EXCURSUS ON DERIVATIVE VERBS

## List 19: The Verbs in *-ellō* and *-illō*[1]

1 *ancillō* (*-or*) 'serve, make subservient to'; denom. to *ancilla* (7.2).
**ārellō*[2] *-āre* 'become dry or withered'; to *āreō -ēre*.
*assellō* (*-or*) 'go to stool'; hypostatized from *ad sellam* (*īre*).
*attillō* 'tickle, titillate'; from **ad-tītillō*.[3]
5 *cacillō* 'cackle' (of hens); onomatopoetic.[4]
*cancellō* 'make a lattice-like sign, cross out'; denom. to *cancellī* 'grating' (1.4).
*cantillō* = *cantilō*.[5]
*capellō* 'cut'; misformed on *capulō* 'cut, tear'.[6]
*catīllō* 'lick one's plate'; denom. to *catīllus* (4.6).
10 *cavillor* (*-ō*) 'mock, criticise'; denom. to *cavilla* (5.5).
*cillō -ere* 'move to and fro'; a supposititious or hypostatized verb.[7]
*collabellō* 'smack lips, kiss'; from *con-* and **labellō*, denom. to *labellum* 'lip' (1.18).
*cōnscrībillō* 'scribble'; to (*cōn*)*scrībō -ere*.
*crībellō* 'sift'; denom. to *crībellum* 'sieve' (11.4).
15 *cultellō* 'make knife-like'; denom. to *cultellus* (1.10).
*dēcapillō* 'cut hair; decapitate'; from *dē* and **capillō*[8], denom. to *capillus* (5.4).

1. See the article of A. Funck, ALL 4.68 sqq. and 223 sqq. For the type *focillō* = *focilō focul*ō, see J. Samuelssohn, Verba auf *-ūlāre*, *-īlāre*, Glotta 6.225 sqq.
2. M-L 628.
3. With haplological loss of *-tī-* (cf. perhaps *dentiō* beside *dentītiō* 'teething'); see Hofmann s.v.
4. Cf. *cucurrīre* 'crow' and see Hofmann s.v. *cacabō* 'cackle' (of the partridge); see also note 13 infra.
5. See note 1.
6. 'Misformed', since *capulō* was not a diminutive formation; cf. *concipilō* 'cut in small pieces' (Plaut. Truc. 621). See Hofmann s.v. *cāpō* 'capon' and note 1.
7. See Funck, ALL 4.244, Hofmann s.v. *cillō*, and M-L 1914 **cillicāre* 'bewegen'; cf. Festus 194.8 M oscillum (*i. e.* a ritual-mask hung up in the open air, on trees, etc.) Santra dici ait, quod os cillant (oscellant Lind.), id est inclinent praecipitesque afferantur.
8. Cf. the PPP *capillātus* 'having hair'.

*effāfillātō* (*bracchiō*)[9] ' bared, exposed (arm)'; denom. to a dialectal **fāfilla* ' *joining'.
*fābellō* ' converse, speak'; denom. to *fābella* (6.11).
*facillō*[10] ' strangle' = **faucillō* (denom. to *faux faucis* ' throat')?
*favillō* ' dirty with soot or ashes'; denom. to *favilla* (5.6).
*fellō* = *fēlō*[11] ' suck'.
*flābellō* ' fan'; denom. to *flābellum* (1.14).
*flagellō* ' whip'; denom. to *flagellum* (1.15).
*focillō* (*-or*) = *focilō, foculō* (*-or*) ' revive (by warmth)'.
*fucillantem*[12]: a word of obscure meaning and derivation.
*furcillō* (*forc-*) ' support by a fork or crotch'; denom. to *furcilla* ' fork' (7.8).
*gracillō*: MS var. of *cacillō*.[13]
*grillō* (*gryllō*) ' chirp' (of crickets); denom. to *grillus* (18.42).
*imbēcillor* ' be weak or ill'; denom. to *imbēcillus* (5.3).
**macellō*[14] ' slaughter (animals)'; denom. to *macellum* (10.12).
*murmurillō* ' mutter, mumble'; denom. to *murmurillum* (9.11).
*novellō* ' plant new vines'; to *novella* ' slip, graft' (see 8.6 and note).
*obstri(n)gillō*[15] ' hinder, oppose'; probably to *obstringō -ere* ' bind'.
*occillō* ' break, smash'; to *occō* ' harrow, break up ground'.
*ōscillō* (*-or*) ' swing to and fro'; denom. to *ōscillum* ' mask' (7.12); cf. *cillō -ere* above.
*pellō -ere* ' beat, push'; not a dimin. formation (< **peldō* or **pelnō*[16]).
*pugillō* (*-or*) = *pugilō* (*-or*) ' box'.
*scalpellō*[17] ' chisel, scratch'; denom. to *scalpellum* (1.38).
*scintillō* ' sparkle'; denom. to *scintilla* (5.14).
*sigillō* ' seal'; denom. to *sigillum* (3.4).[18]

9. See Plaut. Mil. 1180, Muller, Altit. Wörterb. 503, and Hofmann s.v. Cf. *faber* ' joiner, carpenter'.

10. See CGL 2.69.52; for *ā* = *au*, cf. CIL 6.667 CLADIVS (*ā*) = *Claudius*.

11. See Walde² s.v.; *-ll-* in Romance (M-L 3237).

12. See Paul.-Fest. 508.13 Lind. (= 371.3 M).

13. See Anthologia Latina (ed. Riese) 762.25.

14. M-L 5199.

15. Hardly to *strigilis* ' scraper' (ALL 4.229); for the omission of the weak sound *n* in writing, see Sommer² 238. Derivative: *obstrigillus -ī* ' shoe-sole, sandal'.

16. See Walde² s.v. and Sommer² 502.

17. M-L 7641.

18. *Sigillum* had the meaning ' seal' especially in late Popular Latin (see M-L 7904; cf. also Hor. Ep. 1.20.3).

*sorbillō* 'sip'; to *sorbeō -ēre* 'drink, swallow'.
*stēllō* 'be set with stars, glitter'; denom. to *stēlla* (1.41).
*stīllō* 'drop'; denom. to *stīlla* (4.18).
*strittillō* (*stre-*) 'walk'? To *strittō* 'walk lamely' (see 9.17 and note).
45 *sūgillō* (*sugg-*) 'beat black and blue, insult'; probably to *sūgō -ere* [19] 'suck'.
*tessellō* 'lay mosaic work'; denom. to *tessella* 'small cube' (11.17).
*tītillō* [20] 'tickle'; onomatopoetic; cf. *attillō* above.
*tranquillō* 'calm, still'; denom. to *tranquillus* (10.28).
*vacillō* (*vacc-*) 'sway to and fro, waver'; perh. from **u̯ak-ro-lai̯ō*. [21]
50 *vellō -ere* 'pluck, pull'; not a dimin. formation (< **u̯elsō* [22]).

§ **50**. The verbs which we have listed above were formed either on nominal or on verbal stems. The majority are denominative verbs and may be classed as follows: (1) denominatives formed on diminutives which were 'relational' [23], that is not truly diminutive or hypocoristic in function: *cancellō, dēcapillō, flābellō, furcillō, imbēcillor, novellō, ōscillō, stēllō, stīllō,* and *tessellō*; (2) denominatives which were formed on nouns which were non-diminutive in formation: *cavillor, favillō, grillō, *macellō, scintillō, tranquillō,* and perhaps also *effāfillātō*; (3) denominatives formed on diminutives which in Popular and Late Latin were equivalent in meaning to their primitives: *ancillō, crībellō, cultellō, fābellō, flagellō, scalpellō,* and *sigillō*; and (4) denominatives which were truly diminutive (hypocoristic or comic) in function: *catīllō, collabellō,* and *murmurillō*.

§ **51**. The remaining verbs, which were formed on verbal stems, were, like the denominatives, diminutive in formation and either diminutive or 'relational' in function. Thus *cōnscrībillō* and *sorbillō*

19. See Pompeius, GL 5.220.35, and Ernout-Meillet s.v. *sūgō* (whence *sūgillō*, with a transitional meaning '*make a mark by sucking'); Muller, Altit. Wörterb. 437-8 (akin to Goth. *siuks* 'ill', NE *sick*); and Sommer[2] 263[2], after Prellwitz, KZ 45.71 (< **subs-gillō* 'blaue Flecken schlagen', to Lettish *zils* 'blau' ??).
20. Derivative: *tītillus* 'tickling; armpit' (Late Latin; cf. M-L 8757).
21. See Muller, Altit. Wörterb. 516, and Hofmann s.v. *convexus* (**u̯ak-ro-lai̯ō* > **vacellō* > *vacillō* by some analogy ?); to root **u̯a-n-q-* 'be bent'. For *vacc-* see Lucr. 3.504 (*vac-* 1.806) and Sommer[2] 207 Anm. 2 end (*vac[c]illō*, with a meaning '*waddle like a cow', popularly associated with *vacca* ??). See also Pompeius, GL 5.221.10 sqq. (connection with *vagor* disallowed), and Funck, ALL 4.236-7.
22. See Walde[2] s.v.
23. See § 22 supra, note 4.

may be reckoned as the semantic diminutives of (*cōn*)*scrībō* and *sorbeō*, while *obstri*(*n*)*gillō*, *occillō*, and *sūgillō* are 'relational' in meaning with respect to their primitives *obstringō*, *occō*, and *sūgō*. **Ārellō* took the place of *āreō* in Late Latin, the misformation *capellō* was equivalent in meaning to *capulō*, and *cacillō* and *tītillō*, like other onomatopoetic words (*garrulus*, *hinniō*, etc.) with geminated sounds[24], assumed the suffix *-illō* because of its double *l*. The ending *-illō* preponderant in the verbs of this class may have originated in the old denominatives *murmurillō* and *scintillō*, and in the isolated verb *vacillō*, from which the ending *-illō* might readily have detached itself as an independent formative element.

24. See Sommer[2] § 118.2.

# INDEX OF ANCIENT AUTHORS


Accius : fl. c. 139 B.C.
Adamantius Martyrius : 5th cent. A.D.
Adelhard (gram.) : end of 9th cent. A.D.
Afranius : fl. c. 139 B.C.
Aldhelmus : died 709 A.D.
Anthimus : fl. 511-534 A.D.
Antidotaria duo codicis Bruxellensis : c. 6th cent. A.D.
Apicius : not before 3d cent. A.D.
Appendix Probi : c. 3d cent. A.D.
Apuleius : end of 2nd cent. A.D.
ps. Apuleius : c. 5th cent. A.D.
Arnobius : c. 300 A.D.
ps. Arnobius : 5th cent. A.D.
Arnobius iunior : 5th cent. A.D.
Augustinus : 354-430 A.D.
ps. Augustinus : 5th-6th cent. A.D.
Avianus : end of 4th cent. A.D.
Boethius : fl. 510 A.D.
Caecilius : fl. 179 B.C.
Caelius Aurelianus : 5th cent. A.D.
Caesar : 100-44 B.C.
Cassiodorus : fl. 520 A.D.
Cato : 234-149 B.C.
Catullus : 87-c. 54 B.C.
Celsus : beginning 1st cent. A.D.
Charisius : fl. 356 A.D.
Chiron : c. 400 A.D.
Cicero : 106-43 B.C.
Claudianus Mamertus : 5th cent. A.D.
Claudius Claudianus : fl. c. 400 A.D.
Codex Justinianus : completed 529 A.D.
Codex Theodosianus : promulgated 438 A.D.
Columella : 1st cent. A.D.
Corippus : fl. middle 6th cent. A.D.
Digesta Justiniani : completed 533 A.D.
Diomedes : 2nd half of 4th cent. A.D.
ps. Dioscorides : not after beginning of 6th cent. A.D.
Ennius : 239-169 B.C.
Ennodius : died 521 A.D.
Festus : perhaps 2nd cent. A.D.
Fronto : fl. 143 A.D.
Gellius : fl. end of 2nd cent. A.D.
Gildas Sapiens : 504-570 A.D.
Gregorius Turonensis : 538-594 A.D.
Gromatici : 6th cent. A.D.
Hieronymus : c. 340-420 A.D.
Hilarius : fl. 350 A.D.
Horatius : 65-8 B.C.

Isidorus: c. 570-636 A.D.
Itala : before Augustine.
Juvenalis : 60-140 A.D.
Laberius : 105-43 B.C.
Lampridius : died c. 300 A.D.
Livius Andronicus : c. 284-204 B.C.
Livius (historian) : 59 B.C.-17 A.D.
Lucilius : 180-103 B.C.
Lucretius : c. 96-55 B.C.
Macrobius : fl. c. 400 A.D.
Marcellus Empiricus : fl. c. 410 A.D.
Martialis : c. 40-104 A.D.
Martianus Capella : 4th-5th cent. A.D.
Martinus Bracarensis : fl. c. 550 A.D.
Naevius : fl. 235 B.C.
Nonius : fl. c. 300 A.D.
Notae Tironianae : see Bibliography.
Optatus : fl. c. 385 A.D.
Osbern : end of 11th cent. A.D.
Ovidius : 43 B.C.-18 A.D.
Pacuvius : 220-c. 132 B.C.
Palladius : 4th cent. A.D.
Paulinus Nolanus : 353-431 A.D.
Paulus Diaconus : c. 725-797 A.D.
Pelagonius : end of 4th cent. A.D.
Persius : 34-62 A.D.
Petronius : died 66 A.D.
Phaedrus : fl. 1st half of 1st cent. A.D.
Placitus : 4th cent. A.D. (?)
Plautus : c. 254-184 B.C.
Plinius sen. : 23-79 A.D.
Plinius iun. : fl. c. 100 A.D.
Plinius Valerianus : 6th cent. A.D.
Pompeius : c. 5th cent. A.D.
Pomponius : fl. 89 B.C.
Porphyrio : 3d cent. A.D.
Priscianus : fl. c. 500 A.D.
Prudentius : 348-c. 410 A.D.
Quintilianus : c. 35-95 A.D.
Remmius F(l)avi(a)nus : end of 4th cent. A.D.
Scaurus : age of Hadrian.
Seneca (philosopher) : c. 4 B.C.-65 A.D.
S. Serenus : age of Hadrian.
Serenus Sammonicus : 1st half of 3d cent. A.D.
Servius : c. 400 A.D.
Solinus : middle of 3d cent. A.D.
Soranus : c. 500 A.D.
ps. Soranus : after 500 A.D.
Suetonius : c. 75-160 A.D.
Terentius : died 159 B.C.
Tertullianus : c. 160-c. 240 A.D.
Theodorus Priscianus : c. 400 A.D.
Titinius : fl. c. 160 B.C.
Varro : 116-27 B.C.
Vegetius : fl. c. 388 A.D.
Venantius : 6th cent. A.D.
Vergilius : 70-19 B.C.
Virgilius Maro (grammarian) : 7th cent. A.D.
Vitruvius : end of 1st cent. B.C.
Vulgata : beginning of 5th cent. A.D.

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